Carmelite Liturgy and Spiritual Identity

The Choir Books of Kraków

MEDIEVAL CHURCH STUDIES

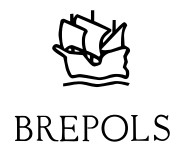
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The Choir Books of Kraków

by

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BnF — Bibliothèque nationale de France

Bullarium Carmelitanum — *Bullarium Carmelitanum plures complectens summorum Pontificum Constitutiones ad Ordinem Fratrum Beatissimae, semperque Virginis Dei Genitricis Mariae de Monte Carmelo spectantes*, Nunc primo in lucem editum, duasque in partes distinctum A Fratre Eliseo Monsignano Ejusdem Ordinis Procuratore Generali. Pars Prima. Duplici Indice exornata, 4 vols (Rome: Georgii Plachi, 1715–68), I

New Catholic Encyclopedia — *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2nd edn, 15 vols (Detroit: Thomson/Gale, 2003)

New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians — *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, 20 vols (London: Macmillan, 1980)

Saints of Carmel — *Saints of Carmel: A Compilation from Various Dictionaries*, ed. by Rev. Louis Saggi, O. Carm. and Rev. Valentine Macca, O.C.D., trans. by the Very Rev. Gabriel N. Pausback, O. Carm. (Rome: Carmelite Institute, 1972)

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Introduction

In 1397 a group of Carmelites came from Prague in Bohemia to Kraków, Poland, to found a new convent, at the invitation of Queen Jadwiga and her husband, Władisław II Jagiełło, thus marking the first extension of the order into the area known as Małopolska, or Lesser Poland. We know nothing of the identity, or even the number, of this first group of Carmelites. They brought with them, however, three, perhaps four (one may be lost), choir books for the celebration of the Divine Office according to the Carmelite rite. These choir books, produced in their convent of Prague, were as vital as the friars themselves to the life of the new convent, since without them a proper religious observance could not be established there. Three of these choir books, two of them still in the Kraków convent, are the first of six such medieval codices in a collection which now numbers a total of twenty-six, all but one of which are still housed in the Carmelite convent of Kraków.

Studies in the history of the Carmelite order have stressed the order's Marian tradition and the imitation of Elijah the prophet as essential to the Carmelites' self-understanding. Such studies have also investigated the gradual incorporation of the order into the mendicant tradition. While they have mentioned the importance of the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre to this self-understanding, no scholarly work on the Carmelites has adequately appreciated their liturgy as integral to the Carmelites' understanding of who they were throughout the medieval and early modern periods. Works by Carmelites and, in recent years, by people who are not members of the order, have stressed the importance of narrative texts, especially from the late thirteenth century through the sixteenth, which emphasize the order's antiquity and especially its Marian and Elijan charisms. These texts, to be discussed in Chapter 1, shaped how Carmelites were viewed, both by the order's own members and by the general population, right up until the twentieth century. Historians who

emphasize such texts occasionally mention liturgical books, but only within a general discussion which mentions that they followed the rite of the Holy Sepulchre. When one considers that the Carmelites, from the middle of the thirteenth century until the middle of the twentieth, spent a minimum of four hours per day performing the various liturgies of the Divine Office and Mass, it seems surprising that no one has investigated the liturgy and its impact on how the Carmelites viewed themselves throughout their history. While individual narrative texts about the antiquity of the order and the Carmelites' relationship to Mary and Elijah were read by only a few of the members, the Divine Office was celebrated on a regular basis by the entire community, even the lay brothers who recited the Our Father while the rest of the community chanted the office in Latin. Thus the brothers, while performing it differently from the clerics and clerical students, nonetheless participated in the office together with the other members of the community.

The absence of any critical discussion about Carmelite liturgy generally results from a lack of original source material. Thus while the Ordinal of Sibert de Beka was published by Benedict Zimmerman[1] at the beginning of the twentieth century, only with the foundational study of Paschalis Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*,[2] were the extant medieval liturgical books available for closer examination. A study of all the later manuscripts would have been unwieldy to include in the scope of his study. Kallenberg's book was published in 1962, a time when travel restrictions made it difficult to visit what were then known as 'Iron Curtain' countries, so that the contents of the Kraków choir books generally remained unknown in the west until recently.

The twenty-six choir books which form the locus of this study, all but one of which still remain in the Kraków convent, offer a unique perspective for understanding the Carmelite liturgy as it was celebrated in one convent over four centuries. It is the only such collection to contain complete service books with music for the medieval office tradition and also to contain numerous books from two convents, Kraków and Lwów, for the early-modern period. In addition a few Tridentine graduals survive, enabling us to reconstruct at least partially the manner in which the local Carmelites celebrated Mass. The choir

[1] *Ordinaire de l'ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel par Sibert de Beka (vers 1312), publié d'après le manuscrit original et collationné sur divers manuscrits et imprimés*, ed. by R. P. Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D., Bibliothèque liturgique, 13 (Paris: Picard, 1910).

[2] Paschalis Kallenberg, O. Carm., *Fontes liturgiae Carmelitanae: Investigatio in decreta, codices et proprium sanctorum* (Roma: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1962).

books provide the text and music for singing the Divine Office and celebrating Mass throughout the church year. As texts they enable us to analyse how the newly-arrived Carmelites in Kraków conformed to established Carmelite tradition as practiced in the order's convents throughout Europe. But they also provide a forum for asking larger questions concerning the context in which they were used and concerning the role of liturgy in a Carmelite house. For instance, the bull of Pope Boniface IX establishing the convent refers more than once to the flourishing of divine worship, highlighting the importance of the Carmelites' liturgical practices. The liturgical hours organized the day for the Carmelites, punctuating at regular intervals their other mendicant activities, particularly preaching and hearing confessions. As mendicants with eremitical origins on Mount Carmel, the Carmelites added a new dimension to the spiritual life of the city, perhaps due to their emphasis on Marian devotion, since they were known as 'Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel'. Their convent and church were located in an area of Kraków just outside the city walls, known as 'in arenis' or 'on the sands', referring to the sandy terrain of the site. The Polish term for 'in arenis', 'na Piasku', is still used to refer to the Carmelite church in Kraków. The area was also associated with a Marian apparition and subsequent healing of a nobleman, quickly leading to a popular devotion to Our Lady 'on the sands' which the Carmelites then began to promote from their arrival in Kraków to the present day. Thus they complemented the work of the other two mendicant orders, the Franciscans and Dominicans, who were larger, inside the walls and well established in Kraków by the middle of the thirteenth century. While we cannot know precisely why Queen Jadwiga wanted the Carmelites in Kraków, we can at least draw some tentative conclusions about their participation in the political, academic, and devotional aspects of the city's cultural life. Chapter 1 of this book will discuss the circumstances concerning the Carmelites' arrival in Kraków, the possible reasons for their being invited into the city, the likely interaction between the Carmelites and the townspeople and the influence of devotion to Our Lady of the Sands, and the public worship of the Carmelites on the local townspeople. Chapter 2 will discuss the importance of liturgy for the Carmelites, the legislation that regulated it and guaranteed its uniform observance and show how it was an essential part of Carmelite daily life in Kraków. Chapter 3 will discuss the medieval choir books, examining how the feasts that the Carmelites celebrated both connected the local friars to the larger community of the order and expressed their mendicant identity. Chapter 4 will demonstrate that, even with the revision of the books after the Council of

Trent, most of the medieval liturgy was preserved and celebrated through the eighteenth century, now with the addition of specifically Carmelite saints to give full expression to the Carmelites' spiritual identity and values. Chapter 5 will then offer some conclusions about the contribution that the Kraków Carmelites made to the intellectual and spiritual life of the city and discuss the significance of these choir books.

This work would never have been possible without the kindness of institutions and individuals: I wish to thank the staff of the Fordham University library under the direction of Dr James McCabe, whose librarians combine superb competency with efficiency, kindness, and good humour; the library of the Jagellonian University in Krakow; the Ossiliński library in Wrocław; Rev. Dr Patrick McMahon, O. Carm. and Ms Patricia O'Callaghan of the Carmelitana Collection at Whitefriars Hall in Washington, D.C.; and Dr Szymon Sułecki, archivist of the Carmelite manuscripts in Kraków. I wish to thank in particular Rev. Leszek Pawlak, O. Carm., Prior Provincial of the Carmelite province of Poland, whose tragic death in June 2004 precludes his ever realizing how much his extraordinary kindness meant to me and contributed to this book, and his successor, Rev. Dr Dariusz Borek, O. Carm., who continued to give me access to all the necessary materials and readily granted permission to publish all the figures included in this volume. Thomas Zahora kindly translated some articles from the Czech language and Sr Adalbert, CSSF, translated Tadeusz Trajdos's article on the foundation of the convent into English. Rev. Joachim Smet, O. Carm., Rev. Bartholomew Larkin, O. Carm., Rev. Dr Joseph Koterski, S.J., and Dr Joseph Dyer all provided very helpful assistance with some of the Latin translations. Research on this project began under a Louis Herman and Susan Hamilton Rogge Research Grant for 1996–97, which I acknowledge with deep gratitude. A Fordham University Faculty Fellowship for 2003–04 gave me the necessary sabbatical time to investigate the manuscripts thoroughly, prepare indices for them which are now pubished at the CANTUS Website at the University of Western Ontario, and do much of the necessary preparation for the writing of this book. I acknowledge Fordham University's generosity to me and confidence in me with sincere thanks. Ms Angela Michalski, senior secretary of the department of Art History and Music at Fordham, provided great assistance in preparing the tables for publication, for which I thank her. I thank the anonymous reader of the manuscript for helpful remarks, and at Brepols, Dr Simon Forde, Jean Verstraete, the production manager, and Leonie Hicks, the copy editor, for their efficiency in seeing this work through the various stages of production.

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Chapter 1

THE CARMELITE CONVENT OF KRAKÓW

While the arrival of the Carmelites into Kraków in 1397 was not important enough to merit any notice in general histories of Poland,[1] nor in the annals[2] of the contemporary chronicler Jan Długosz (1415-1480),[3] the latter in his *Liber beneficiorum Dioecesis Cracoviensis* did briefly mention their arrival, noting that 'they erected a monastery outside the city walls of Kraków in the western part next to the common labourers, [an area] which until now has been called "on the Sand"'.[4] The arrival of a new mendicant order, even a comparatively small one, into the diocese was

[1] For instance, Adam Zamoyski, *The Polish Way: A Thousand-Year History of the Poles and their Culture* (New York: Hippocrene, 1987), mentions the significance of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Premonstratensians, and Cistercians for the development of Polish spiritual and cultural life in the thirteenth century (p. 38), but makes no mention of the arrival of the Carmelites at the end of the fourteenth. They probably arrived too late and were too small in number to merit significant notice by historians of medieval Kraków or medieval Poland. M. B. Biskupski, *The History of Poland* (Westport: Greenwood, 2000) and Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), I and *Heart of Europe: The Past in Poland's Present,* new edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) similarly make no mention of the Carmelites.

[2] *The Annals of Jan Długosz, Annales seu cronicae incliti regni Poloniae*, an English abridgement by Maurice Michael, with a commentary by Paul Smith (Charlton: IM Publications, 1997).

[3] L. Siekaniec, 'Długosz, Jan', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV, 795–96.

[4] Jan Długosz, *Liber beneficiorum Dioecesis Cracoviensis* (Kraków: Przeździeckiego, 1864), p. 475: 'monasterium extra urbem Cracoviensem in parte occidentali iuxta cerdones, quod hactenus vocatur ad Arenam constituunt': quoted in O dr. Bronisław Alfons Tomaszewski, O. Carm., 'Dzieje Klastoru OO. Karmelitów na Piasku w Krakowie' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Wydanie II. Kraków, 1970), p. 5.

significant for the local church. While relatively small in comparison to the Franciscans and Dominicans, the Carmelites by the end of the fourteenth century had carved out a place for themselves within the western church and developed a corporate identity, based largely on their origins in the Latin Kingdom, which was unique among religious orders. With this identity came a unique spirituality and a distinctive liturgical tradition. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss 1) the significance of Długosz's notation; 2) the historical development of the Carmelites up to the point of their arrival in Kraków; 3) the development of a Carmelite identity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; 4) the Carmelites and the social structure of medieval Kraków; 5) the bull of confirmation of Boniface IX authorizing the construction of their church and related buildings; and 6) Carmelite convent life in Kraków.

The Significance of Długosz's Notation

The designation 'outside the city walls [extra muros]' came to identify the Kraków Carmelite convent in papal documents and other written records concerning the local Carmelites.[5] The designation further suggests that the Carmelites settled outside the city walls because the land within the city was already occupied: the Franciscans and Dominicans, for instance, had already been living within the city walls for over a century.[6] As a decidedly smaller

[5] Thus, for example, a letter of Innocent VIII of 16 June 1492 is addressed to 'Dilectis Filiis Priori, & Fratribus Domus Beatae Mariae extra muros Cracovienses': cf. *Bullarium Carmelitanum*, I, 411; similarly a letter of King Władisław II Jagiełło to the local Carmelites refers to them as 'Fratribus Ordinis Beatae Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmeli extra muros Cracovienses': cf. *Bullarium Carmelitanum*, I, 618. Some of these documents are outlined in Wacław Kolak, *Katalog Archiwum OO. Karmelitów w Krakowie: 'Na Piasku' 1398–1945 (1988)* (Kraków: Zakon oo. Karmelitów, 1997), especially pp. 52–82.

[6] The Franciscans arrived in Krakow in 1237 <http://www.cracow-life.com/guide/Krakow_Old_Town/Franciscan_Church.php> [accessed 16 July 2008]. This date is first noted by the Polish chronicler John Komerowski in his *Breve Memoriale*, where he mentions that they came from Prague to Kraków in this year: 'Doctor autem Myechovita, in cronica Polone dicit quod Boleslaus Pudicus anno Domini 1237 persuasione genitricis sue Grzimislave in annis puericie existens, ex Praga fratres Minores Cracoviam induxit pro ecclesia monasterioque locum amplum dando et eadem omnia edificavit de coctis lateribus suis impensis', Rev. Edwin J. Auweile, O.F.M., 'The chronica fratris Jordani A Giano' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1917), pp. 32–33. John Moorman makes a brief reference to the Franciscans' arrival in Poland in *A History*

community than the much more powerful Franciscans and Dominicans, and as a new religious order entering very late into the religious life of Kraków, the newly arrived Carmelites could count on none of the advantages enjoyed by the older mendicant orders to support them; nonetheless, their location outside the walls offered them an opportunity to explore different directions in their mendicant activity, which they ultimately did to great advantage. Fr Bronisław Tomaszewski argues convincingly, based on the evidence of Jan Długosz in his *Liber beneficiorum*, that, since most of the parish churches of Kraków were located within the city walls, the erection of the Carmelite church outside the walls ensured that the local people would have access to spiritual services once the city gates were closed.[7] This presumably provided the motivation for Queen Jadwiga to build the Carmelite church 'on the Sand' ['na Piasku'] outside the city walls.[8]

The area 'outside the walls' where the Carmelites settled was also known as 'Garbary', from the Polish word for the tanners, that is, the German settlers who had come from Swabia and whose dialect was different from the German patricians of Kraków.[9] Next to these German settlers lived Poles on Garncarską (today Krupnicza) Street while Polish artisans and peasants inhabited the hamlets further outside the city walls. The Carmelites ministered to the spiritual needs both of their immediate neighbours and of the people living in the outlying hamlets.[10] Tadeusz Trajdos notes the rapid development of the

of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 91. After a group of Kraków priests were sent to the Dominican convent of Bologna for the novitiate in the years 1220–21, under the initiative of the Kraków bishop Iwo Odrowaz; they returned in 1222 and were given the Holy Trinity church in Kraków; three years later in 1225, Gerard of Wrocław became the provincial of the Polish Dominicans. See <http://www.krakow2004.dominikanie.pl/provincemain.php> [accessed 16 July 2008] for this discussion. William A. Hinnebusch, O.P. maintains that during the chapter of 1221 St Dominic sent (St) Hyacinth and Henry of Moravia to found the order in Poland; they arrived in Kraków in late October, 1222 where Bishop Ivo received them and gave them the church of the Holy Trinity, which he consecrated on 25 March 1223. See William A. Hinnebusch, O.P. *The History of the Dominican Order, I: Origins and Growth to 1500* (New York: Alba House, 1965), p. 95 for this discussion.

[7] Tomaszewski, 'Dzieje Klastoru OO. Karmelitów', p. 14.

[8] Tomaszewski, 'Dzieje Klastoru OO. Karmelitów', p. 14.

[9] Tadeusz M. Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce* (Warsaw: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1993), p. 198.

[10] Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 198.

neighbourhood around the convent walls, where various kinds of tanners made saddles, wall hangings, and other leather products, while potters, traders, farmers, gardeners, fullers, brewers, and silversmiths also plied their trades. The local Carmelites undoubtedly interacted with all these tradespeople in a commercial as well as a spiritual manner.[11] Richard and Mary Rouse have established that for Paris the people involved in the book trade in the early thirteenth century all were concentrated in defined areas, specifically the rue Neuve Notre-Dame and in the area around the church of St-Séverin, where the parchmenters and scribes lived on the rue des Écrivains and the illuminators on the rue Erembourg de Brie.[12] Tadeusz Trajdos maintains that in Poznań the tradesmen near the Carmelite church of Corpus Christi included haberdashers, shoemakers, and parchment makers as well as artisans specializing in church decoration and the making of liturgical objects, including books, who expected commissions from the Carmelites.[13] Thus some animal hides from the butcher shop were used to make leather goods, including the covers for manuscripts, while others were sold to the parchmenters to produce the folios of the manuscript itself. The tanners, and presumably their colleagues in related trades, were the 'common labourers' that Długosz referred to in his brief mention of the Carmelites' arrival in Kraków.

The settlement of the Carmelites outside the city walls of Kraków is consistent with their foundations in Mainz and Florence. In the former instance the convent was established outside the town itself near the Rhine river[14] and in Florence the Carmelites settled in the San Frediano section, outside the city walls and across the Arno river from the main part of the city.[15] While the foundations of Mainz and Florence are much earlier than that of

[11] Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 199.

[12] Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2000), I, 14, 19-24

[13] Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 200.

[14] The arrival of the Carmelites in Mainz is briefly mentioned in Friedhelm Jürgensmeier, *Das Bistum Mainz: von der Rőmerzeit bis zum II. Vatikanischen Konzil* (Frankfurt a.M.: Knecht, 1989), p. 53. The Carmelites arrived in Mainz in 1285 and settled near the Rhine river, away from the town centre. For a discussion of their arrival in Mainz, see P. Klemens Maria Raczek, O. Carm., *Karmeliterkloster Mainz 1285–1985* (Mainz: Karmeliterkloster, 1985), especially pp. 6–10.

[15] Patrick Thomas McMahon, 'Servants of Two Masters: The Carmelites of Florence, 1267-1400' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1994), p. 90.

Kraków, dating to 1285 and 1267[16] respectively, even as early as the middle of the thirteenth century the Carmelites had entered into the mendicant tradition sufficiently to establish foundations in the major cities of western Europe, in sharp contrast to their eremitical origins on Mount Carmel. The original rule or way of life was given to a single hermit group living on Mount Carmel by Albert of Jerusalem sometime during his patriarchate (1206–14).[17] When a revised rule was promulgated by Pope Innocent IV as part of the apostolic letter, 'Quae honorem conditoris', on 1 October 1247,[18] it reiterated the establishment of foundations in isolated places but allowed for exceptions: 'you may have foundations [*loca*] in solitary places, or where you are given a site that is suitable in the opinion of your prior and your friars and convenient for the observance proper to your order'.[19] When the Carmelites came to Kraków in 1397, therefore, even though they were permitted to have foundations in cities, they still made their foundation outside the walls, either because the site promised to be a flourishing area for their ministerial productivity and expansion as a community, or because it was the only place available to them.

While one may wish that Długosz had provided more details about the arrival of the Carmelites into Kraków, including some of the names or at least

[16] Gisla, the widow of Ernst von Eberbach, made the initial donation for the Mainz Carmelite foundation on 24 February 1285: see Raczek, *Karmeliterkloster Mainz*, p. 8 for this discussion. Lady Agnese Veraccia, gave the Carmelites land for the construction of their priory in 1267: McMahon, 'Servants of Two Masters', p. 90.

[17] For a discussion of Albert of Jerusalem, see Adriano Staring, 'Alberto, patriarca di Gerusalemme, santo', *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 12 vols (Rome: Instituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Università lateranense, 1961), I, 686–90; V. L. Bullough, 'Albert of Jerusalem, St.', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, I, 222. Vincenzo Mosca, *Alberto Patriarca di Gerusalemme: tempo, vita, opera* (Rome: Edizioni carmelitane, 1996).

[18] The text of this letter is contained in the Vatican Archives, Reg. Vat., no. 21, fols 465^{v}–466; quoted from 'La lettre "Quae honorem conditoris" (1er octobre, 1247): note de diplomatique pontificale', ed. by M.-H. Laurent, O.P., *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, 2 (1948), 5–16; the text of the revised rule is contained on pp. 10–16. Cf. Bede Edwards, O.D.C., 'Editorial Note' in *The Rule of Saint Albert*, ed. by Hugh Clarke, O. Carm. and Bede Edwards, O.D.C., Vinea Carmeli, 1 (Aylesford: Carmelite Book Service, 1973), p. 75.

[19] 'Loca autem habere poteritis in heremis, vel ubi vobis donata fuerint, ad vestre religionis observantiam apta et commoda, secundum quod priori et fratribus videbitur expedire'. *Rule of Saint Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, p. 80 (English) and p. 81 (Latin) numbers this section chapter 4a; in the revised version of the rule it is chapter 5: cf. *The Carmelite Rule*, ed. by Bruce Baker, O. Carm. and Gregory L. Klein, O. Carm. (Darien: The Carmelite Press, 2000).

the number of the founding Carmelites, he did at least record the event. Despite their late arrival into the city and the modest size of the Carmelite order in comparison to the Dominicans and Franciscans, they eventually carved out a significant role for themselves in the spiritual life of Kraków.

The Historical Development of the Carmelite Order

Eremitical Origins

The origins of the Carmelite order date to the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the local patriarch Albert of Jerusalem gave them a *formula vitae* or rule that established them at least informally as a religious entity. This primitive *formula vitae* probably confirmed a manner of religious activity which had been in place for some time, suggesting that a Carmelite presence in the Holy Land must date to at least the last decade of the twelfth century, if not even earlier. Elias Friedman has shown[20] that this presence of the Latin hermits, who would later become known as Carmelites, was part of a much larger local religious activity, since hermits of both the Greek and Latin traditions had for centuries gravitated to Mount Carmel. During the time of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem this eremitical tradition co-existed with both monastic and mendicant religious life, since Premonstratensians, Benedictine men and women, Franciscans, and Dominicans also had established communities there.[21]

The original rule survives only in a single later version by the fourteenth-century Carmelite author Felip Ribot.[22] Subsequent changes in the rule reflect the gradual development of the Carmelite community from a single group of hermits on Mount Carmel to an international mendicant order, and the

[20] Elias Friedman, *The Latin Hermits of Mount Carmel: A Study in Carmelite Origins*, Institutum Historicum Teresianum, Studia 1 (Rome: Teresianum, 1979). He discusses the Latin hermits on pp. 170–99.

[21] Paul F. Robinson, O. Carm., *The Carmelite Constitutions of 1357: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes* (Rome: Pontificia Studiorum Universitas A S. Thoma Aq. in Urbe, 1992), pp. 2–3.

[22] As Chapter 3 of this *Letter of Cyril of Constantinople*: see Felip Ribot, O. Carm., *The Ten Books on the Way of Life and Great Deeds of the Carmelites*, ed. and trans. by Richard Copsey, O. Carm., Early Carmelite Spirituality, 1 (Faversham: Saint Albert's Press, 2005); Edwards, 'Editorial Note', p. 75.

resulting need to conform the Albertine rule to the realities of life within the new mendicant framework. A revised rule was thus promulgated by Pope Innocent IV in his apostolic letter 'Quae honorem conditoris' of 1 October 1247.[23]

In 1999 the Order of Carmelites and the Discalced Carmelite Order jointly promulgated the rule of Albert as revised by Innocent IV, with chapter divisions which differ from previous published versions.[24] Thus, although originally written without chapters or sectional divisions, in their edition of the rule Bede Edwards, O.C.D. and Hugh Clarke, O. Carm. divided it into twenty chapters, while the jointly promulgated version contains twenty-four.[25] As a *formula vitae* the Carmelite rule is different from more complex and detailed rules, particularly that of Benedict.[26] Detailed prescriptions were not necessary to regulate the daily life of the first Carmelites, who were a small group of hermits in a specific locale, not a large Benedictine monastery. Even the Innocentian revision of the rule, composed after the Carmelites had become an international mendicant order, still preserved the essential simplicity of the original Albertine *formula vitae*.

The two chapters in the Albertine rule that concern the liturgical life of the original hermits are particularly illuminating for our purposes. Thus Chapter 8[27] (Chapter 9 in the Clarke and Edwards edition) states,

> Ii qui litteras norunt et legere psalmos, per singulas horas eos dicant qui ex institutione sanctorum patrum et Ecclesiae approbata consuetudine ad horas singulas sunt deputati. Qui, vero, litteras non norunt, viginti quinque vicibus 'Pater noster' dicant in nocturnis vigiliis, exceptis Dominicis et solemnibus diebus, in quorum vigiliis praedictum numerum statuimus duplicari, ut dicatur 'Pater noster' vicibus quinquaginta. Septies autem eadem dicatur oratio in laudibus matutinis. In aliis quoque horis septies similiter eadem sigillatim dicatur oratio, praeter officia vespertina, in quibus ipsam quindecies dicere debeatis.

> Those who know their letters and how to read the psalms should, for each of the hours, say those our holy forefathers laid down and the approved custom of the

[23] *Rule of Saint Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, pp. 23–25.

[24] *Carmelite Rule*, ed. by Baker and Klein.

[25] *Rule of Saint Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards.

[26] *The Holy Rule of Our Most Holy Father Saint Benedict*, ed. by the Benedictine Monks of St Meinrad Archabbey (St Meinrad, IN: Abbey Press, 1975).

[27] *Carmelite Rule*, introduction and annotations by Otger Steggink, and others; trans. by Theodulf Vrakking with Joachim Smet (Almelo: [n. pub.], 1979); see also *Carmelite Rule*, ed. by Baker and Klein.

> Church appoints for that hour. Those who do not know their letters must say twenty-five 'Our Fathers' for the night office, except on Sundays and solemnities when that number is to be doubled so that the 'Our Father' is said fifty times; the same prayer must be said seven times in the morning in place of Lauds, and seven times too for each of the other hours, except for Vespers when it must be said fifteen times.[28]

Knowing 'their letters, and how to read the psalms' in fact presumed a great deal, since it presupposed a knowledge of Latin and probably assumed that the psalms had been memorized, as was the custom among medieval religious, including hermits.[29] This chapter also raises the possibility that at least some of the hermits who knew how to read the psalms may have previously studied for the priesthood or may even have been ordained priests. The Albertine rule did not enjoin the common recitation of the canonical hours upon the hermits, but simply the recitation of psalms by each hermit in his cell at the appointed canonical hours, thus establishing a liturgical schedule in a private manner. The prescription of the various 'Our Fathers' in lieu of the psalms, a common practice among religious groups,[30] enabled the brothers who had not mastered Latin or memorized the psalms to nonetheless participate in the prayer life of the founding Carmelite community.

Chapter 10 (Chapter 11 in the edition of Clarke and Edwards) of the rule states, 'Oratorium, prout commodius fieri poterit, construatur in medio cellularum, ubi mane per singulos dies ad audienda missarum solemnia convenire debeatis, ubi hoc commode fieri potest,' 'an oratory should be built as conveniently as possible among the cells, where, if it can be done without difficulty, you are to gather each morning to hear Mass'.[31] The unusual

[28] The English translation is taken from *Rule of Saint Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, p. 83; the Latin text is on p. 82.

[29] Bede Edwards refers to 'the psalms, the typical prayer of the hermit, which they would have been expected to learn eventually by heart' in his commentary on the chapter of the rule concerning the recitation of the psalms: *Rule of Saint Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, p. 82, n. 19. Joseph Dyer comments on the psalms being memorized by monks in 'The Singing of Psalms in the Early-Medieval Office', *Speculum*, 64 (1989), 535–78; he makes specific reference to the memorization of psalms on pp. 535, 544 and 546.

[30] For instance, the Cistercians followed this practice and Albert prescribed something similar for the third order of the Humiliati: Frances Andrews, *The Other Friars: The Carmelite, Augustinian, Sack and Pied Friars in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), p. 12, citing her book, *The Early Humiliati* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 104–05, 125.

[31] *Rule of Saint Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, p. 85 [English], p. 84 [Latin].

prescription for daily Mass among hermits suggests that at least one of their number was ordained, since to bring in a celebrant from outside the enclave on a regular basis surely would have proved unwieldy. If at least one of the hermits mentioned in Chapter 8 as knowing their letters was an ordained priest then he could have served as celebrant for Mass. While liturgical custom dictated that Mass be celebrated according to the local rite, that is, the rite of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, such jurisdiction did not apply to the Divine Office since, as an essentially private devotion, it consisted merely in reciting the appropriate psalms for each office hour rather than in a formalized liturgy. Thus the detail used in Chapter 8 to describe the activity of reciting the psalms or the substitute 'Our Fathers' and in Chapter 10 for prescribing the communal celebration of Mass suggests that the faithful celebration of the liturgy was central to their life of prayer.

Donald Buggert has argued that the positioning of the chapter on the eucharist at the centre of the rule (Chapter 10 of 20) suggests that the eucharist and the oratory were central to their way of life.[32] One can argue further that such positioning highlights the centrality of the liturgy itself, both the recitation of the psalms and the celebration of Mass, to the hermits' eremitical way of life. Reciting the psalms privately at designated times each day and celebrating daily Mass together established a liturgical rhythm within the community which regulated their life and shaped their eremitical vocation.

The Albertine rule was addressed to 'B. and the other hermits living under obedience to him, who live near the spring on Mount Carmel',[33] thus becoming probably the only such rule to identify a religious group by its geographical location rather by a specific founder. The obscurity of the leader, identified only as 'B', allowed the Carmelites to consider the prophet Elijah as their patron and eventually develop him into their founder.[34] Jacques de Vitry, Albert's successor

[32] Donald W. Buggert, O. Carm., 'Jesus in Carmelite Spirituality', in *The Land of Carmel: Essays in Honour of Joachim Smet, O. Carm*, ed. by Paul Chandler, O. Carm. and Keith J. Egan (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1991), pp. 91–107 (p. 97).

[33] 'Albertus, Dei gratia Hierosolymitanae Ecclesiae vocatus Patriarcha, dilectis in Christo filiis B. et caeteris eremitis qui sub eius obedientia iuxta fontem in Monte Carmeli morantur': *Rule of Saint Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, pp. 78 [Latin] and 79 [English].

[34] Later Carmelite tradition venerated 'B', eventually developed into 'Brocard', as a saint: Andrew Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 191. Patrick McMahon has shown that the relationship between Elijah and moansticism was deeply embedded in the medieval mindset: Patrick McMahon, O. Carm., 'Pater et Dux: Elijah in Medieval

as bishop of Acre from 1216 to 1228, described the life of the early hermits on Mount Carmel, writing in his *Historia orientalis* that they,

> after the example of that holy man and solitary the prophet Elijah, led the hermit life on Mount Carmel [. . .] near the spring called Elijah's Spring, not far from the monastery of the blessed virgin Margaret, in little cells like so many hives where, as bees of the Lord, they produced the honey of spiritual sweetness'.[35]

Similarly, a thirteenth-century medieval travel account of the Holy Land mentions that their oratory was dedicated to the Virgin Mary;[36] the roots of this this dual association of the hermits with Elijah and Mary thus date to their early life on Mount Carmel. This association quickly entered the consciousness of medieval Carmelites and gradually developed along both literary and liturgical patterns. Thus the Carmelites eventually celebrated the prophet Elijah and his disciple Elisha as proper Carmelite saints, as we shall see in Chapter 4, and the early Marian devotion of the hermits on Mount Carmel became an integral part of the Carmelites' self-understanding, whose liturgical expression we shall examine in Chapter 3.

The Transition to Mendicants

The untimely death of Albert of Jerusalem on 14 September 1214[37] and the convening of the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, thus within the following year,[38] required the Carmelites to begin the process of becoming mendicants in order to be officially accepted as a religious order. At the same time the political

Mythology', in *Master of the Sacred Page: Essays and Articles in Honour of Roland E. Murphy, O. Carm. on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. by Keith J. Egan, T. O. Carm. and others (Washington, D.C.: The Carmelite Institute, 1997), pp. 283–99.

[35] Bede Edwards, 'Introduction', in *The Rule of Saint Albert*, ed. by Hugh Clarke, O. Carm. and Bede Edwards, O.D.C., Vinea Carmeli, 1 (Aylesford: Carmelite Book Service, 1973), pp. 11–41 (p. 11). Jacques Bongarsius, *Gesta Dei per Francos sive orientalivm expeditionvm, et regni Francorvm Hierosolimitani historia* (Hanover: Wechel, 1611).

[36] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 7. The specific reference to 'une petite église de Notre-Dame' occurs in *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte aux XIe, XIIe, et XIIIe siècles*, ed. by H. Michelant and G. Raynaud (Geneva: Fick, 1882), pp. 89–90, cited in *Medieval Carmelite Heritage: Early Reflections on the Nature of the Order*, ed. by Adrianus Staring, O. Carm. (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1989), p. 9 n. 1.

[37] Bullough, 'Albert of Jerusalem, St.', p. 222.

[38] Nicholas de Lange, 'Lateran Councils III, IV', *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. by Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, 2nd edn, 22 vols (Detroit: Macmillan, 2007), XII, 505–06 .

uncertainty of the Holy Land quickly forced the Carmelites to begin migrating westward, starting around 1238, according to the thirteenth-century Dominican chronicler, Vincent of Beauvais,[39] to Sicily, England, and other parts of Europe.[40] By the General Chapter of London of 1281 the Carmelites numbered ten provinces, a rapid expansion that was all the more remarkable considering that they originated in the Latin Kingdom rather than central Italy like the Franciscans or the south of France like the Dominicans.

The main obstacle to the Carmelites' approval as a religious order was constitution 13 of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, known from its opening words as *Ne nimia*, which reads as follows:

> Ne nimia religionum diversitas gravem in ecclesia Dei confusionem inducat, firmiter prohibemus, ne quis de caetero novam religionem inveniat, sed quicumque voluerit ad religionem converti, unam de approbatis assumat. Similiter qui voluerit religiosam domum fundare de novo, regulam et institutionem accipiat de religionibus approbatis. Illud etiam prohibemus, ne quis in diversis monasteriis locum monachi habere praesumat, nec unus abbas pluribus monasteriis praesidere.[41]

> Lest an excessive variety of forms of religious life introduce great confusion in the church of God, we firmly prohibit anyone in the future from founding a new form of religious life; rather, let whoever wishes to embrace the religious life adopt one of the approved ones. Similarly whoever wishes to found a new religious house should accept the rule and institute of [one of] the approved ways of life. We also forbid anyone to presume to have a position as a monk in several monasteries [simultaneously] or a single abbot to preside over several monasteries.

The proliferation of religious groups posed a problem for the Church, both in terms of orthodoxy if their members engaged in preaching something incorrect or if they refused to submit to church authority.[42] While the original Carmelite foundation enjoyed the approval of Albert, a papal legate, the hermits, especially after Albert's untimely death, must have seemed to church officials like any other newly-founded spurious religious group. While the monastic orders and

[39] Bede Edwards cites 1238 as the beginning of this westward movement, based on evidence of the thirteenth-century Dominican, Vincent of Beauvais: *Rule of Saint Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, p. 21.

[40] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 10.

[41] *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. by Centro di Documentazione, Istituto per le Scienze Religiose (Bologna: Josepho, Alberigo and others, 1962), p. 218.

[42] Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), p. 124.

secular canons by this time had established a highly organized religious life for which they had long enjoyed official juridical status within ecclesiastical structures, the mendicant movement at the beginning of the thirteenth century was still struggling to become established. Thus the reference in *Ne nimia* to monks roving from one monastery to another and abbots presuming to preside over more than one monastery may suggest some confusion within the monastic houses but may also be a reference to the new mendicant movement that did not observe a vow of stability, so that friars did in fact move frequently from one house to another and priors provincial did presume to preside over more than one convent. The first Carmelites found themselves especially vulnerable in this situation, since Albert was no longer available to defend their interests at the Council.

The Carmelites had no choice but to conform to the stipulations of *Ne nimia* and to seek papal approval for their community, requiring them as part of this process to embrace progressively the mendicant way of life, essentially the only alternative to the monastic calling or to the life of the canons regular. This lengthy process of receiving approval necessarily involved the promulgation of numerous papal documents, which allowed the Carmelites to continue as a religious group but gradually required them to embrace the mendicant way of life, including the clerical duties of preaching and administering the sacraments that were part of it. [43]

Mendicant Carmel

Papal Legislation. The changed circumstances of being an international community, established in Europe as well as the Latin Kingdom, required the Carmelites to adapt their way of life accordingly. Thus in 1247 the general chapter of Aylesford in England petitioned Pope Innocent IV to adapt the rule to their changed living situation, which he then promulgated in the apostolic letter 'Quae honorem conditoris' of 1 October 1247.[44] This Innocentian rule

[43] The papal decrees documenting this transition to a mendicant way of life are discussed in Carlo Cicconetti, O. Carm., *La Regola del Carmelo* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1973) and in my article 'From Rule to Rubric: The Impact of Carmelite Liturgical Legislation upon the Order's Office Tradition', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 108 (1994), 262–98 (repr. in James Boyce, O. Carm., *Praising God in Carmel: Studies in Carmelite Liturgy* (Washington, D.C.: The Carmelite Institute, 1999), pp. 180–230).

[44] *Rule of Saint Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, pp. 23–25.

(technically speaking, the only official one) changed the text in Chapter 11 (Chapter 9 in the edition of Clarke and Edwards) from requiring that those 'who know their letters, and how to read the psalms, should, for each of the hours, say those our holy forefathers laid down and approved custom of the church appointed for that hour' to requiring that those 'who know how to say the canonical hours with those in orders should do so, in the way those holy forefathers of ours laid down, and according to the Church's approved custom'. ('Ii qui horas canonicas cum clericis dicere norunt, eas dicant secundum constitutionem sacrorum patrum et Ecclesiae approbatam consuetudinem.')[45] The mention of 'those in orders' refers to the increasing clericalization of the order and the phrase 'according to the Church's approved custom' suggests the Carmelite incorporation into the larger tradition of the Church. Central to this process of living as mendicants was the increasing Carmelite presence in the cities, since urban foundations became the norm after about 1252.[46]

The Carmelites encountered a major setback when the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 renewed the prohibition of *Ne nimia* of Lateran IV and banned all mendicant orders except the Franciscans and Dominicans from receiving new novices.[47] The Carmelites and Augustinians were allowed to continue as they were, pending further resolution of the question, but nonetheless experienced obvious difficulties in the interim.[48] The rest of the century saw a continual struggle to maintain and extend their privileges, until finally Pope John XXII, in his bull, *Inter caeteros ordines* of 21 November 1326,[49] extended the privileges of an earlier bull, *Super cathedram*, to include the Carmelites, thus giving them the same privileges and exemptions enjoyed by the Franciscans and Dominicans.[50]

[45] *Rule of Saint Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, pp. 82–83.

[46] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 14.

[47] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 16.

[48] As Richard W. Emery expreses it, 'the Carmelites and Augustinian friars were provisionally exempted [from *Religionum diversitatem* prohibiting the foundation of new orders] pending a future decision by the Pope': Richard W. Emery, 'The Second Council of Lyon and the Mendicant Orders', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 39 (1953), 257–71 (p. 258).

[49] *Bullarium Carmelitarum*, I, 66–67.

[50] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, pp. 16–17.

Carmelite Legislation. In addition to the Albertine rule and its Innocentian revision, as well as the papal bulls which trace the progressive development of the Carmelites and their liturgy throughout the thirteenth century, the Acts and Constitutions of General Chapters document change and growth in Carmelite daily life and activity. The Carmelite Rule given by Albert was a *formula vitae* for living religious life that had none of the detail or complexity of a formal rule such as the Rule of St Benedict. As a result, detailed regulations for daily Carmelite life were established through the regular meetings of Carmelites, usually at three- or four-year intervals, known as General Chapters. These regular assemblies of Carmelite delegates elected the prior general and governing officers for the next three or four years and also made significant decisions about all aspects of Carmelite life, including liturgical practices. Such chapters were particularly important for mendicant Carmelites with convents spread across Europe, since they provided the only opportunity for the members to come together as an order and make decisions about their common life. The list of provinces and of Carmelite delegates attending the Chapter, duly recorded in the Acts, gave its resulting legislation juridical authority. Such legislation, promulgated in its Constitutions, then became normative for observance in all the provinces of the order. This legislation thus extended to all the convents of the order, unlike monastic legislation, which applied to only one house (or perhaps also to a monastery's daughter houses) or diocesan legislation which regulated practices in the cathedral and parish churches of a single diocese. From 1318 onward these General Chapter acts were recorded in a book known as the *Liber Ordinis* which now is housed in the Carmelite General Archives in Rome.[51] In conjunction with general chapters, each province also held its own provincial chapter to elect officials and to implement within the individual province the legislation enacted by the General Chapter. While acts of these provincial chapters generally have not survived, one can safely presume that what was legislated for the whole order by the General Chapter was enacted on the more local level by each provincial chapter, with appropriate modifications where necessary. Provincial chapters in turn became normative for observance in the individual convents of the province, thereby guaranteeing that what was legislated by the general chapter was in fact enforced throughout the order. These General Chapter acts were all the more important since the central governing house for the Carmelites, the priory of Santa Maria

[51] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 89.

in Traspontina, was only completed around 1500.[52] Thus the General Chapters, held in a different city each time, and the *Liber Ordinis* that recorded their legislation, were crucial to the Carmelite development of their self-understanding, especially in the absence of a fixed mother house or stable founding city comparable to Assisi for the Franciscans. Only a limited amount of information from the thirteenth-century acts and constitutions of General Chapters has survived, but such information is nonetheless crucial for our understanding of the development of a Carmelite identity and, along with it, a distinctive liturgical tradition.

Surviving Chapter acts in the latter part of the thirteenth century reflect the Carmelites' preoccupation with establishing the antiquity of their order and hence their legitimacy to continue functioning in the wake of *Ne nimia* of Lateran IV in 1215;[53] they also demonstrate the rapid expansion of the order within a relatively short time, to ten provinces by 1281.[54] After the Carmelites' definitive departure from Mount Carmel itself in 1291, the Holy Land province relocated to Cyprus where evidence of their presence still exists.[55] Cyprus was not listed as a province in later Chapter acts, however, since it really was the Holy Land province in exile. Even when there was no longer a Carmelite presence in Cyprus the Holy Land continued to be listed as first among the Carmelite provinces and a titular provincial was always named for it.[56] This juridical action thus continued to keep alive the preeminence of the

[52] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 90.

[53] The Chapter acts have been published as *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Fratrum B. V. Mariae de Monte Carmelo, 1318–1902*, ed. by Gabriel Wessels, 2 vols (Rome: Curia Generalis, 1912–34).

[54] 'In .X. ad presens ordinamus provincias. Quarum prima est terra sancta, secunda cicilia, tercia anglia, .IIII. provincia, .V. tusia, .VI. lombardia, .VII. francia, .VIII. alemania, .IX. aquitania, .X. hyspania': cited in Ludovicus Saggi, O. Carm., 'Constitutiones capituli Londinensis, anni 1281', *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, 15 (1950), 203–45 (p. 244).

[55] Jaroslav Folda, 'Crusader Art in the Kingdom of Cyprus, c. 1275–1291: Reflections on the State of the Questions', *Hē Kupros kai hoi Staurophories / Cyprus and the Crusades: Hoi Anakoinōseis tou Diethnous Symposiou 'Hē Kupros kai hoi Staurophories', Leukōsia, 6-9 Septembriou, 1994 / Papers Given at the International Conference 'Cyprus and the Crusades', Nicosia, 6-9 September, 1994*, ed. by Nikos Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre/Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, 1995), pp. 209–37; this discussion of the Carmelites occurs on p. 220.

[56] *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, ed. by Wessels, I, 19, 20, 24, 26, etc.

Holy Land in the self-understanding of medieval Carmelites, a memory they progressively commemorated in their liturgy.

The Development of Carmelite Identity

Chapter documentation was also closely related to the writings of individual Carmelite scholars who built upon existing documents and then developed them further, so that their writings in turn exerted an influence on subsequent legislation, especially in shaping medieval Carmelite identity. Andrew Jotischky offers a good overview of the growth of this Carmelite identity in *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages*;[57] we point out here some of the essential points that he covers, especially those that impact upon the Carmelite liturgy. The five main elements shaping the Carmelite identity during the thirteenth century are 1) a document known as the *rubrica prima*, first appearing in the constitutions of the General Chapter of London of 1281, whose casual reference to Elijah the prophet began to develop what has come to be known as the Elijan legend; 2) the replacement of the striped cloak the hermits wore in the Latin Kingdom with the white cloak at the Chapter of 1287, both cloaks intimately allied with the Elijan legend; 3) the writings of Carmelite scholars who both advanced the connection between Elijah and the order and at the same time moved back the date of Carmelite origins to the time of the prophet Elijah; 4) the progressive growth of Marian devotion as typified by the scapular vision of St Simon Stock and expressed in the writings of Carmelite theologians throughout the thirteenth century; and 5) papal legislation concerning the development of Carmelite liturgy.

Once established as mendicants, far removed from Mount Carmel itself, the Carmelites still had to contend with the prohibition of *Ne nimia*, reiterated by subsequent church councils, although with continuing permission to practise their way of life. In addition, they were at a disadvantage in comparison with the Franciscans and Dominicans, both of whom could boast a charismatic founder who helped define their way of life. This led the Carmelites progressively to emphasize the importance of their eremitical life on Mount Carmel and the example of Elijah the prophet, normally considered the patron of hermits, for

[57] Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*.

their way of life.[58] They gradually developed their understanding of his influence on them, considering him as their spiritual leader and eventually as their founder;[59] in the process they established their antiquity not just to before the time of the Fourth Lateran Council, but to the time of Elijah himself.

The *rubrica prima* and the Constitutions of 1281

A key document to this self-understanding is now known as the *rubrica prima*, appended to the acts of the General Chapter of 1281, but probably dating to the years between 1238 and 1247,[60] thus contemporaneous with the beginning of the Carmelite westward migration from the Latin Kingdom. This 'first rubric' was a declaration meant to answer the questions of neophytes in the order as to its identity.

> Qualiter respondendum sit quaerentibus a quo et quomodo ordo noster sumpsit exordium.
>
> Cum quidam fratres in ordine iuniores, quaerentibus a quo et quomodo ordo noster habuerit exordium, iuxta veritatem nesciant satisfacere, pro eis in scripto formulam talibus relinquentes volumus respondere.
>
> Dicimus enim veritati testimonium perhibentes, quod a tempore Eliae et Elisei prophetarum, montem Carmeli devote inhabitantium, sancti patres tam veteris quam novi testamenti, eiusdem montis solitudinem pro contemplatione caelestium tamquam veri amatores, ibidem iuxta fontem Eliae in sancta poenitentia, sanctis successibus incessanter continuata, sunt proculdubio laudabiliter conversati.
>
> Quorum successores, tempore Innocentii III, Albertus Ierosolymitanae ecclesiae patriarcha in unum congregavit collegium, scribens eis regulam, quam Honorius papa, successor ipsius Innocentii, et multi successorum suorum ordinem istum approbantes, sub bullarum suarum testimonio devotissime confirmarunt.

[58] James Boyce, O. Carm., 'Elijah among the Carmelites: Adopting and Honouring the Father', in *Elijah the Prophet in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (South Orange: Institute of Judaeo-Christian Studies, 2008 [forthcoming]).

[59] Jane Ackerman traces the relationship between Elijah and the Carmelites in 'Stories of Elijah and Medieval Carmelite Identity', *History of Religions*, 35 (1995), 124–47. See also Rudolf Hendriks, 'P. Rudolf Hendriks, O. Carm., 'La succession héréditaire (1280–1451)', *Élie le prophète*, Études carmélitaines, 35, 2 vols (Bruges: de Brouwer, 1956), I, 34-81.

[60] For a discussion of the earlier dating of this document, see *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, ed. by Staring, p. 34.

> In cuius professione nos eorum sequaces usque in hodiernum diem in diversis mundi partibus Domino famulamur.[61]

> How one should respond to those who ask by whom and how our order received its foundation.
>
> Since some younger brothers in the order do not know how to give a satisfactory answer to those who inquire through whom and how our order had its beginning, we wish to respond to such [inquiries] for them by leaving a model answer in writing.
>
> We declare, bearing testimony to the truth, that from the time when the prophets Elijah and Elisha dwelt devoutly on Mount Carmel, holy Fathers both of the Old as well as the New Testament, lovers of the true, [sought] the solitude of the same mountain for the contemplation of heavenly things; they had recourse to the same place, unceasingly preserving as their holy successors holy penitence.
>
> Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem in the time of Innocent III united their successors into a single community, writing a rule for them which Pope Honorius, the successor of the same Innocent, and many of their successors, in approving this Order, most devoutly confirmed by their charters.
>
> In the profession of this rule, we, their followers, serve the Lord in diverse parts of the world, even to the present day.[62]

The *rubrica prima* makes explicit that the Carmelites descend directly from saints of both Jewish and Christian traditions who have dwelt on Mount Carmel in imitation of the devout lives of Elijah and Elisha the holy prophets, thus verbalizing a relationship between the Carmelites and Elijah which was presupposed but not directly articulated by the hermits on Mount Carmel. The *rubrica prima* also identifies their location as near the fountain of Elijah, thereby making their association with the prophet geographical as well as spiritual. It bypasses the leader of the hermits in favour of Albert of Jerusalem as the one who united them into a community. The memory of Albert was presumably held in high esteem long after his death; the reference in the *rubrica prima* to his gathering the early Carmelites into community is thus significant for legitimizing them, since he was no doubt well respected as a papal legate and patriarch of Jerusalem. In 1281 the association

[61] *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, ed. by Staring, pp. 40-41. This is the edition appended to the chapter acts of 1281; Staring also includes the version from the acts of 1294 (pp. 40–41), 1324–27 (pp. 41–42), 1357–69 (pp. 42–43) in his work.

[62] This translation is adapted from that of Joachim Smet, O. Carm., *The Carmelites: A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, 4 vols (Darien: Carmelite Spiritual Center, 1975–1982, rev. edn for vol. 1 1988), I, 15–16; the Latin text may be found in Saggi, 'Constitutiones capituli Londinensis anni 1281', p. 208, as well as in *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, ed. by Staring, cited above.

between the prophet Elijah and the hermits of Mount Carmel was still essentially a spiritual one with geographical reinforcements. Throughout the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, Carmelite writers developed this association into a much more precise one that expanded this spiritual and geographical connection into a historical relationship as well.

Later verions of the *rubrica prima*, in constitutions from the chapters of 1291, 1324, 1327, 1359, and 1367, added elements to the original statement that emphasized the Carmelites' Marian devotion, pushed back their papal approval to before 1215, and traced their origins to the very beginnings of Christianity.[63] Thus, for instance, the version of the *rubrica prima* in the constitutions of 1324–27 includes the text 'Quorum successores post incarnationem Christi ibidem ecclesiam in honore beatae Mariae virginis construxerunt et ipsius titulum elegerunt, et ob hoc deinceps fratres beatae Mariae de monte Carmeli per apostolica privilegia sunt vocati'.[64] ('And their successors after the incarnation of Christ built a church in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary in the same place and adopted her title for themselves, and for this reason ever since they are called by apostolic privilege the brothers of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel.') Thus in virtually a single line they both added a reference to their church in honour of the Virgin Mary and pushed back their date of foundation to apostolic times. By emphasizing their monastic and eremitical activity, the Carmelites also emphasized their reliance on Elijah as their model and inspiration. Now, by explicitly emphasizing that their church was dedicated to Mary after the incarnation of Christ, they necessarily dated their affiliation with Mary to a time before the foundation of any of the other orders. By appropriating the title 'brothers of Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel' they emphasized a Marian devotion in their title that identified them as the oldest Marian order, also putting them in conflict with other orders, particularly the Dominicans, who claimed a similar devotion. These and other such documents amplified previous Carmelite claims to antiquity while simultaneously strengthening their relationship with Elijah and Mary.

[63] For a discussion of these versions of the *rubrica prima* see Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, especially pp. 106–11.

[64] *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, ed. by Staring, p. 42.

The Chapter of 1287 and the White Cloak

If the *rubrica prima* sought to give the order a sense of identity by associating it with Elijah the prophet and the area near Elijah's well on Mount Carmel, the General Chapter of Montpellier of 1287 sought to reinforce the Carmelites' sense of identity through uniformity of dress. Thus the chapter voted to change the striped hermits' cloak, commonly known as the *pallium barratum*, to a white cloak, a change whose implications Andrew Jotischky has discussed in considerable detail.[65] By changing to a white cloak the Carmelites alleviated the practical problems of producing a uniform and readily identifiable cloak to wear over the tunic and scapular; the white cloak also allied them to the primitive monasticism of the early church and hence reinforced their claims to antiquity as a religious order.[66] Andrew Jotischky's discussion of the white cloak traces the relationship between the Carmelites, their habit, the prophet Elijah, and the Virgin Mary which Carmelite writers developed throughout the later Middle Ages.[67] Thus while the *rubrica prima* gave the Carmelites a consistent verbal response to offer those who questioned their identity and purpose, the change of garb established visual uniformity of dress and, along with it, credibility as an order for the Carmelites.

Medieval Carmelite Writers

As mendicants the Carmelites distinguished themselves from the larger and better established Franciscans and Dominicans by not having an individual founder whose personality or writings could influence their subsequent activity. Nevertheless throughout the middle ages they found it necessary to compensate for their lack of a founder by developing the Elijan legend beyond the *rubrica prima*, the *pallium barratum*, and the subsequent white cloak. The culmination

[65] Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, pp. 45–78.

[66] Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, pp. 48–51.

[67] Valerie Edden, 'The Mantle of Elijah: Carmelite Spirituality in England in the Fourteenth Century', in *The Medieval Mystical Tradition, England, Ireland and Wales: Exeter Symposium VI, Papers read at Charney Manor, July 1999*, ed. by Marion Glasscoe (Cambridge: Brewer, 1999), pp. 67–83 (pp. 73–74), citing John Baconthorpe, *Laus Religionis Carmelitarum*, Book VI, Ch. ii, published in *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, ed. by Staring, p. 250. Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, p. 55, n. 38, citing *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae*, ed. by T. Schermann (Leipzig: Teubner, 1907), pp. 53, 66–67 and 93.

point for developing the story of Elijah and the Carmelites was a work written by Felip Ribot, prior provincial of Catalonia from 1385, known as the *Institute of the First Monks*, dating to around 1370.[68] In it Ribot made a curious interpretation of scripture which allowed him to equate the 'sons of the prophets', that is, the group of disciples whom Elijah gathered around him cited in I Kings 20. 35, with the earliest Carmelites. This interpretation thus made much more specific the relationship between the Carmelites and Elijah, making Elijah not only their spiritual guide as hermits but the actual founder of their Order. Ribot's work thus definitively resolved the problem of the Carmelites' antiquity by dating their foundation not just to before 1215, the year of the Fourth Lateran Council, but to the time of Elijah the prophet, thus during the reign of King Ahab, 874–53 BC.[69] This intimate association of the Carmelites with Elijah the prophet in turn was expressed in art, as in the altarpiece of Pietro Lorenzetti commissioned by the Carmelites for their church in Siena depicting, among other figures, Elijah, duly dressed in the Carmelite white cloak, presenting to the Child Jesus a text from the book of Kings referring to his victory over the prophets of Baal and also depicting his disciple Elisha;[70] a similar depiction of Elijah holding a scroll from the book of James (a text also used in the Carmelite office for Elijah) also was portrayed in the polyptych attributed to Andrea di Bonaiuto from the Florentine Carmine dating to the 1360s.[71] In a parallel development of the Carmelites' association with the Virgin Mary, later medieval writers such as Arnold Bostius wrote of visits to the hermits on Mount Carmel by Mary, her mother St Anne, and her grandmother St Emerantiana, creating a spiritual lore that found its way into such artistic works as the St Anne altarpiece, commissioned for the Carmelites of Frankfurt at the end of the fifteenth century and now in the Historisches Museum in

[68] Ribot, *Ten Books*.

[69] *Saint Joseph Edition of The New American Bible, Translated from the Original Languages with Critical Use of All the Ancient Sources by Members of the Catholic Biblical Association of America* (New York: Catholic Book Publishing Co., 1970) [unnumbered page opposite] p. 344.

[70] Andrews, *The Other Friars*, p. 55; see also Joanna Cannon, 'Pietro Lorenzetti and the History of the Carmelite Order', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 50 (1987), 18–28.

[71] Andrews, *The Other Friars*, p. 55.

Frankfurt.[72] The Elijan legend[73] helped the Carmelites to defend the antiquity of their order against their mendicant competitors, the Franciscans and Dominicans, and also against any local bishop who might challenge it. Despite the rather fanciful writing of Ribot and similar medieval Carmelite authors, the idea of Elijah as the direct founder of the Carmelites took hold and remained in place for many members of the order through the twentieth century.

The Elijan legend as expressed in the work of Ribot also had potential importance for the medieval Carmelite liturgy. In Felip Ribot's commentary on Carmelite liturgy from Chapter 10, that is, Book 2 Chapter 2 of the original work, he says of Elijah,

> Thus did Elijah have these men of God as the first disciples and true imitators of his monastic life, according to the form given to him by God. And he taught them to prophesy, that is, to sing canticles, hymns, and psalms, accompanied by musical instruments, for the glory of God. For he recalled that: 'It is good to give thanks to the Lord, to sing praises to his most high name; to declare his mercy in the morning and his faithfulness by night, on the ten stringed lute and the harp, with songs on the lyre'.[74]

This highly original interpretation could have its origin in a very enthusiastic reading of Psalm 92; one can presume that the original hermits were familiar with this psalm enjoining them to praise God with music and even with instruments, given their life of constant meditation on the psalter. If Elijah was the model for their prayer life and Psalm 92 was at least part of their meditation, then this literal application of the text of the psalm itself to their manner of praying is a logical conclusion.

Ribot goes further to maintain that we 'indeed know that in the Sacred Scriptures not only they were called prophets who foresaw and predicted the future, but also those who were appointed to praise God with musical instruments and sing to Him devoutly',[75] citing the book of Paralipomenon and

[72] *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1990); the question of St Anne and the Carmelites is discussed in detail in their 'Introduction', pp. 1–68.

[73] Ackerman is the most recent scholar to take up the question of Elijah as the founder of the Carmelites in her article, 'Stories of Elijah and Medieval Carmelite Identity', 124–47. Cf. Hendriks, 'La succession héréditaire', 34-81.

[74] Ribot, *Ten Books*, p. 29. Ribot's citation is Psalm 92. 1–4.

[75] 'The Book of St. John 44', trans. by Frater Norman G. Werling, O. Carm., *The Sword*, 4 (1940), 20–24, 152–160, 309–20; 5 (1941), 20–27 (p. 22), 131–39, 241–48; 6 (1942), 33–39, 147–55, 278–86, 347–55.

commenting that 'Here Asaph, Heman, and Idithun are called the prophets of David because he appointed them as singers to praise God with musical instruments'.[76] The text that he cites is 1 Paralipomenon 25. 1, which reads in the Latin Vulgate edition, 'Igitur David et magistratus exercitus segregavit in ministerium filios Asaph, et Heman, et Idithun, qui prophetarent in citharis, et psalteriis, et cymbalis secundum numerum suum dedicatio sibi officio servientes'.[77] The equivalent text in the *New American Bible*, 1 Chronicles 25. 1, reads 'David and the leaders of the liturgical cult set apart for service the descendants of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, as singers of inspired songs to the accompaniment of lyres and harps and cymbals'.[78] The interpretation of the verb 'prophetare' as an equivalent for singing and the medieval equation of musical with prophetic activity allowed Ribot to suggest that Elijah had personally trained his disciples in psalm singing and thus to connect the prophetic activity of Elijah, the foremost of the prophets, with the ordinary liturgical activity of the later Carmelites.

Yet again Ribot states that:

> when the Wiseman says to holy Elias, 'Thou makest prophets successors after thee', he did not mean that Elias conferred the spirit of foreseeing or foretelling the future, but rather that Elias established monks as his successors, not only to observe the monastic life according to the form given him by God but also to the duty of prophesying: that is, to sing psalms and canticles devoutly to God and to praise Him not only with their hearts and tongues but even with musical instruments. Wherefore they were called Prophets (that is, singers) and their life prophetic, that is, dedicated to singing psalms to the Lord, accompanied by musical instruments.[79]

The singular 'prophet' of the *New American Bible* translation suggests Elisha as the appointed successor to Elijah while the plural 'prophets' of the Latin text facilitates an interpretation such as Ribot's.

Later on in Book 6 Chapter 5, Ribot maintained that once the liturgical prescriptions changed, the Carmelites' singing of psalms ceased to be a prophetic activity:

[76] 'The Book of St. John 44', trans. by Werling, *The Sword*, 5 (1941), 22.

[77] *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam, nova editio*, ed. by R. P. Alberto Colunga, O.P. and Dr. Laurentio Turrado, 3rd edn (Matriti: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1959).

[78] *The New American Bible*.

[79] The Latin text from Ecclesiasticus 48. 8b reads 'Et prophetas facis successores post te', while the English version prefers the singular in Sirach 48. 8, 'and a prophet as your successor': 'The Book of St. John 44', trans. by Werling, *The Sword*, 5 (1941), 22–23.

> For then, as we have said, they were called prophets because they sang psalms and canticles to God accompanied by musical instruments. But with the coming of the New Law, the rite of singing to God accompanied with musical instruments ended and was changed for another. As the Apostle says: 'Let the Holy Spirit fill you; speak to one another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs; sing, and make music in your hearts to the Lord.' And as that ancient rite of singing to God accompanied by musical instruments is not observed now in our Order, therefore its members are no longer called prophets.[80]

One cannot know if Ribot's earlier reference to liturgical singing as a prophetic activity had any direct impact on the medieval Carmelites who read his work, especially since he maintains that the performance of liturgy under the 'New Law' negated its prophetic dimension. Nonetheless it is curious that such liturgical activity was once identified by Ribot as central to the prophetic dimension of the first Carmelites, and one cannot help but wonder if its impact was not felt in the later middle ages, especially as Carmelite liturgical practices developed into a distinctive tradition.

The Development of Marian Devotion

In a parallel movement to the progressive development of Elijah as their founder the medieval Carmelites looked to Mary as their patroness. Adrian Staring points out the importance for any group of religious of being dedicated to a patron saint in order to be recognized as a religious body. Thus he cites a pilgrim account from 1225 that indicates that the original chapel on Mount Carmel was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[81] The version of the *rubrica prima* dating to 1324 makes specific reference to the Virgin Mary and the Carmelites.[82] A letter of the prior general, Peter of Millau, to Edward I of England in 1282 asking his intercession on behalf of the order in Rome specifically refers to the order being founded for the praise and glory of the Virgin Mary.[83] Later Carmelite writers expanded this Marian connection, especially in view of the objections of other orders such as the Dominicans who also had a strong Marian devotion. John of Hildesheim, for

[80] Ribot, *Ten Books*, pp. 88–89; the scriptural reference is to Ephesians 5. 19.

[81] The reference is to 'une petite église de Notre-Dame', cited from *Itinéraires à Jérusalem*, ed. by Michelant and Raynaud, pp. 89–90, cited in *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, ed. by Staring, p. 9.

[82] *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, ed. by Staring, p. 13.

[83] Jotishky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, pp. 25, 34; Andrews, *The Other Friars*, p. 20.

instance, expanded the idea of Mary as patroness through the dedication of the original chapel to her and maintained that she filled a role comparable to Dominic for the Dominicans or Francis or Augustine for the orders named after them. He further pointed out that the papal curia typically visited the Carmelite convent on the feast of the Immaculate Conception just as they would visit one of the other religious order houses on their feast day.[84] The Carmelite association with the Virgin Mary is particularly associated with the vision in which Mary appeared to St Simon Stock and promised her special protection to all who would wear the scapular.[85] The Dominican Gerard de Frachet also mentions a Carmelite prior named Simon relating a vision of the Virgin Mary received by another Carmelite, thereby independently giving credence to the otherwise controversial question of Simon Stock's existence.[86]

Just as uniformity of purpose was established by the *rubrica prima* of 1281 (at the latest) and the seeds of the Carmelites' progressively deepening relationship to Elijah the prophet and the Virgin Mary were planted and further developed in subsequent promulgations of the *rubrica prima*, and just as uniformity of garb was achieved when the Carmelites adopted the white cloak in 1287, even while later medieval Carmelite writers further developed their Elijan and Marian devotion and association, so too the Carmelite liturgy was gaining a distinctive shape during the course of the thirteenth century.

Papal Legislation and the Development of the Carmelite Liturgy

Papal bulls and internal Carmelite legislation indirectly describe innovations and developments in the Carmelite liturgy. Thus the bull *Ex parte dilectorum* issued by Innocent IV on 13 January 1252 gave the Carmelites permission to construct their cells[87] in the cities and dioceses where they now were located; it also gave them permission to construct churches, cemeteries, and to have a bell,

[84] Jotishky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, p. 173, citing John of Hildesheim, *Dialogus*, xiv, *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, ed.by Staring, p. 374.

[85] Jotishky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, p. 38.

[86] Jotishky, *Carmelites and Antiquity,* p. 38, citing Gerard de Frachet, *Vitae fratrum ordinis Praedicatorum*, iii. 11, ed. B. M. Reichert, Monumenta Ordinis Praedicatorum Historica, 1 (Louvain: Charpentier, 1897), p. 1133.

[87] Here Innocent IV used the eremitical term *cella* rather than the mendicant word *conventus*: see Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 98.

the sign of a public church, to summon the faithful to worship.[88] In response to a request from the Carmelites Innocent IV issued the bull *Devotionis augmentum* on 26 August 1253 granting them permission to hear confessions since, as the bull mentions, their petition indicated that some of the brothers had been competently trained in theology.[89] Thus this bull indicates that the Carmelites had already begun to receive the necessary university training in theology to exercise their ministry competently according to the mendicant model, only about six years after the promulgation of the revised Carmelite rule by Innocent IV. The General Chapter of Messina in 1259 enacted some legislation concerning the Divine Office, but the Chapter acts have not survived.[90] The first legislation regarding studies in the order, conducted in *studia generalia*, or convents in towns such as London and Paris where members of all the provinces could be sent for higher studies, occurred at the General Chapter of London of 1281.[91] Thus the latter part of the thirteenth century saw a progressive redefinition of Carmelites as mendicants, including academic training, participation in the life of the cities, and social interaction with the new middle class, many of whom entered the ranks of the order. At the same time, as we shall discuss in Chapter 2, the Carmelite liturgy as practiced on Mount Carmel gradually grew into a standardized tradition, culminating in a work known as the ordinal of Sibert de Beka, promulgated by the General Chapter of London in 1312.[92]

[88] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 98.

[89] The citation of the papal bull is 'Cum itaque, sicut ex tenore vestrae petitionis accepimus, plures Fratres vestri Ordinis in Theologica facultate instructi competenter existant'. See *Bullarum Carmeliarum*, I, 13, cited in Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 99.

[90] Jean Trisse, 'Sequuntur capitula generalia ordinis fratrum beatae Mariae de monte Carmeli ab anno Domini 1259 usque ad annum Domini 1361', in *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, ed. by Straing, pp. 305–311 (p. 305); Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 99; Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, p. 22.

[91] Trisse, 'Capitula generalia', p. 306; Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 100; Smet, *Carmelites*, i, 29–32

[92] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman.

Carmelites and Social Structures

The Carmelites who arrived in Kraków in 1397 observed a liturgy that had been standardized for about a century; they also had developed a sense of their distinctive identity both during their process of becoming mendicants and afterwards. As a newly arrived order of mendicant friars they fit into a distinctive social role in the life of the city of Kraków, which we shall discuss as follows: a) the mendicants and the cities; b) Carmelites and the Upper German Province; c) Carmelites and the Polish Crown; and d) Carmelites and medieval Kraków.

Mendicants and the Cities

Lester K. Little has discussed the significance of the mendicant orders as a factor in the life of the developing cities of medieval Europe[93] since they by definition participated actively in the life of the city, unlike the monks who lived in monasteries in the countryside. For the Carmelites the process of becoming mendicants involved a change in the mendicant apostolic activities they pursued and probably an expansion of them, but not necessarily the assumption of such duties for the first time, since on Mount Carmel they had to earn a livelihood[94] and Mount Carmel's location on the pilgrim route to Jerusalem[95] enjoined on them the ministry of extending hospitality to pilgrims. Even after 1247, however, the completion of the process was still rather gradual since the Carmelites only earned their first advanced university degrees in the last decade of the thirteenth century[96] and such credentials were essential to the mendicant work of preaching and teaching. The Carmelites' training in theology, carefully regulated by general mendicant practice so that only those qualified to preach, teach, and hear confessions would do so, enabled them to serve a useful purpose to the local church by ensuring the continuing orthodoxy of the immigrant

[93] Little, *Religious Poverty*, especially pp. 197–217.

[94] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 2.

[95] For a discussion of the importance of Jerusalem as a centre of pilgrimage, especially during the time of the crusader kingdom, see Bernard Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 80 (1994), 695–713. Hamilton points out (p. 711) that after 1187 Jerusalem was no longer a Christian city.

[96] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 13.

community they served, especially in a time when digression from orthodox belief and practice was a pervasive threat.[97] Lester K. Little paints a picture of active mendicant involvement in the lives of the lay community around them, not only by providing spiritual services such as regular worship, saying Masses, preaching, and hearing confessions, but through their business dealings with the local community which were an integral part of the life of any active priory.[98] Little does not discuss the role of liturgical practices within the mendicant framework, but clearly the regularity of the liturgical prayer life in any mendicant convent helped to establish the stable, tranquil environment and the ambiance of prayer so central to their lives as friars even while it provided a welcome respite from their hectic daily activity. At the same time the purchase of the material goods required for their liturgical activity, including the manuscripts, altar supplies, and other items required for worship, necessarily engaged them in the local mercantile culture and profit economy.

As mendicants the Carmelites identified with the developing middle class, both in terms of those whose spiritual needs they attended and those who would enter the order to become Carmelites. Specifically for the newly arrived Carmelites in the Garbary section of Kraków, one can imagine the cramped quarters of the area outside the city walls, where the various languages of the immigrant communities mingled with the sights and smells of their various trades, from the blood of animals in the butcher shop to the unsavoury smells associated with whitening the animals skins to make them into suitable parchment. Unlike the rural monasteries whose sizeable tracts of land made them self-sufficient, the Carmelites, although they had a sizeable garden and some farm land to supply their material needs in part, had to purchase goods such as parchment, leather, and probably some food from the local tradesmen and merchants. Interaction with the local community provided the necessary goods for daily life as well as for their liturgical and spiritual activities. Thus their material and spiritual life necessarily involved them in the life of the city in a fundamentally different way from their monastic counterparts.

[97] This was the accusation levelled against the Waldensians and the Humiliati, for instance: cf. Little, *Religious Poverty*, p. 124 for this discussion.

[98] Thus, for instance, the sermons of Anthony of Padua contained specific references to the types and places of work with which his hearers were familiar: Little, *Religious Poverty*, p. 200.

The Carmelites in the Upper German Province

The founding group of Carmelites came to Kraków from Prague in Bohemia, a convent of the German province whose headquarters was in Bamberg.[99] The foundation of the convent in Kraków marked their first entrance into what was called Małopolska, or Lesser Poland, and constituted part of a larger expansion of the province, particularly into central Europe. From the Carmelite point of view, the founding of a convent in Kraków marked a significant milestone in their progressive expansion and offered the possibility of adding new vocations from a distinctive culture to the order's ranks. From the city's point of view the entrance of a new religious order was no doubt a mark of honour, since it indicated the growing size and prestige of the local diocese.

From Kraków the Carmelites quickly expanded to other areas of the kingdom of Poland, founding convents in Bydgoszcz in 1398, Poznań in 1399-1400, Jasło in 1400-1401 and in the principality of Masowia in Płońsk in 1417.[100] The convents of Gdańsk in greater Poland and Strzegom in the Teutonic state had both been founded in 1382 by the Upper German province.[101] A foundation dedicated to St Leonard was established in Lwów, the capital of the Ruthenian Voyvody province in 1444, but the invasion of the Tartars destroyed the convent and the ensuing epidemic killed a number of the friars, so that the project had to be abandoned. It was refounded in 1614 and dedicated under the title of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary.[102] The foundation in Lwów is particularly important for our study, since some of the choir books in the Kraków collection came from there, as we shall discuss in Chapter 4.

[99] P. Adalbert Deckert, O. Carm., *Die Oberdeutsche Provinz der Karmeliten nach den Akten ihrer Kapitel von 1421 bis 1529* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1961).

[100] Tadeusz Trajdos, 'Karmelici we Lwowie w XV wieku', *Przegład historyczny*, 87 (1996), 497–513 (p. 497). Deckert gives the foundation date of Jaslo as 1404 and Płońsk as 1410: Deckert, *Die Oberdeutsche Provinz der Karmeliten*, pp. 40–41.

[101] Trajdos, 'Karmelici we Lwowie w XV wieku', p. 497; Deckert, *Die Oberdeutsche Provinz der Karmeliten*, pp. 35-36 gives the date of foundation of Danzig (Gdańsk) as 1380 and of Striegau (Strzegom) as 1382.

[102] Trajdos discusses the history of this foundation in 'Karmelici we Lwowie w XV wieku', pp. 497–513.

The Carmelites and the Polish Crown

The invitation to the Carmelites to establish a convent in Kraków came from Queen Jadwiga and her husband, Władisław II Jagiełło and presumably formed part of their, and particularly her, aspirations for the religious life of the city.[103] While no official letter of invitation or similar document has survived to modern times, both the Queen's sponsorship of the Carmelites and personal interest in the construction of their first church are firmly embedded in tradition. Thus a medallion in the ceiling of the sacristy of the church, Figure 1, depicts the king, seated at a desk signing a document while the queen stands behind him; standing



Figure 1: Ceiling medallion of King Władisław II Jagiełło and Queen Jadwiga signing the foundation document for the convent.

[103] Oscar Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou and the Rise of East Central Europe*, ed. by Thaddeus V. Gromada, East European Monographs, 308 (Boulder: Social Science Monographs, 1991). Halecki points out that Jadwiga's judicious decisions during her reign had a positive influence on Polish history for the next two centuries; he particularly discusses this on pp. 261–91.

on the left is a Carmelite in habit and white cloak, probably the prior at the time of foundation. Through a window is seen a church building, probably a rendition of the original Carmelite church there. In addition to this ceiling medallion a footprint on the external wall of the church building itself is ascribed by tradition to Queen Jadwiga and, according to the legend, was carefully preserved by a workman from the place where the Queen reportedly stepped while on a visit to the church during its construction. This footprint has been the subject of considerable preservation efforts, especially since the local Carmelites made sure to save the original stone and include the footprint in the exterior of the new building, built after the original convent was burned by the Swedish army in 1655.[104] While both the footprint and the story may be more legend that historical fact, they nonetheless form an important part of the tradition of the convent and solidify the relationship between Queen Jadwiga and the Carmelites.[105] Queen Jadwiga's interest in the Carmelites formed part of her larger political and religious aspirations for Poland itself. Oscar Halecki argued convincingly that her spiritual fervour influenced her political policies, which ultimately were of great benefit to the country itself.[106] Born around 18 February 1374[107] as the daughter of King Louis of Hungary and of the house of Anjou, she was herself crowned queen at the age of ten on 16 October 1384.[108] Halecki argues that, while the young Jadwiga was only eight years old when her father died in 1382, she nevertheless was old enough to remember and be inspired by his personal religious piety.[109] Her own piety included a particularly strong Marian devotion, as witnessed when she offered to Bishop Radlica a chalice brought from Hungary, duly inscribed with a prayer asking the Virgin Mary to take Poland

[104] Tadeusz M. Trajdos, 'Fundacja Klasztoru karmelitów Trzewiczkowych na Piasku w Krakowie', *Nasza Przeszłość*, 60 (1983), 91–127 discusses this footprint on pp. 97–98.

[105] Tomaszewski, 'Dzieje Klasztoru OO. Karmelitów', p. 14, citing Miechowita, *Cronica Polonorum*, p. 275, asserts that Queen Jadwiga with the cooperation of her husband built the convent.

[106] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, especially, pp. 77–258.

[107] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 56.

[108] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 109. The chronicler Jan Długosz discusses the Queen's arrival and coronation as Queen of Poland on 15 October, St Jadwiga's day, in 1384: *The Annals of Jan Długosz*, ed. by Michael and Smith, p. 344. For a succinct biography of Jadwiga, see K. I. Rabenstein, 'Hedwig of Anjou, St', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, VI, 702–03.

[109] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 79.

under her protection.[110] In preparation for his marriage to Jadwiga, Jagiełło, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, accepted baptism and received the Christian name of Władisław (Ladislaus), on 15 Febuary 1386 in Kraków's Wawel cathedral.[111] Jadwiga's marriage to Jagiełło, who then became known as Władisław II Jagiełło, brought with it the union of Lithuania to the Polish crown and also entailed the conversion to Roman Catholicism of Lithuania's entire population.[112] Jadwiga retained the title of king even after her marriage, so that from 1387 to her death in 1399 she and her husband ruled jointly as kings of Poland.[113] Ongoing opposition from the militarily and politically powerful Teutonic Knights[114] constantly challenged the authenticity of Poland's Catholicism. Thus a papal investigation of the marriage between Jagiełło and Jadwiga, led by Maffiolo Lampugnano, the recently appointed archbishop of Ragusa, established Jagiełło's loyalty to Urban VI, the pope in Rome rather than Avignon, and his successors.[115] The king was faithful in ensuring the legitimate establishment of Catholicism in Lithuania, personally translating the most important Christian prayers into the native language, establishing a Catholic bishopric and cathedral in Wilno on 17 February 1387, and setting up parishes throughout the country.[116] Urban's successor Boniface IX praised the defence of Jadwiga's honour by Peter Wysz, whom he made bishop of Kraków in 1392.[117] The association between Boniface IX and Jadwiga was particularly important, since the pope counted on the loyal support of eastern countries such as Poland in the face of questions concerning his own election by the partisans of the Avignon pope, Clement VII.[118] Jadwiga investigated the possibilities of uniting western

[110] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 115.

[111] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 152.

[112] The dynastic link between Jadwiga, the heiress to the Polish Piast dynasty and Jagiełło, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, resulted from a series of accords begun by the Union of Krewo in 1385, so that Poland, once united with the far larger Lithuania, became the largest state in Europe: Biskupi, *History of Poland*, p. 10.

[113] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 155.

[114] Biskupski discusses the significance of the German Teutonic knights and their struggles with Poland, including their defeat at the hands of the Polish-Lithuanian union at the battle of Grunewald in 1410, in *History of Poland*, p. 10.

[115] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 158.

[116] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 161 and n. 119.

[117] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 170.

[118] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 184.

and eastern Christendom: thus in 1390 she invited Slavic rite Benedictines from Prague to come to Kraków and minister to the city's Orthodox population.[119] Thus the addition of another religious order, like the Carmelites, to the existing religious establishment both added to the variety of worship in the city and contributed to its overall religious activity. While the Dominicans and Franciscans had a much longer and probably more powerful presence in Kraków, the Carmelites, because of their late arrival into the city, were inextricably linked to Queen Jadwiga and her political and spiritual aspirations for both the city of Kraków and the whole of Poland. This connection continued even after Jadwiga's death when the English Carmelite prior provincial, Thomas Netter of Walden (1414–30) also served as the English ambassador to King Władisław.[120]

On 11 January 1398 Boniface IX granted the request of Jagiełło and Jadwiga to enlarge the university founded by Casimir the Great in Kraków in 1374 and approved the addition of a faculty of theology.[121] At the same time Jadwiga announced the foundation of a college for Lithuanians in Prague at the university created by Charles IV in 1348, which already had developed a successful faculty of theology; this project was approved by King Wenceslaus of Bohemia on 20 July 1397.[122] In this same document she referred to the cooperation of her own chaplain of Czech origin, the theologian John Šcekna.[123] The established school of theology in Prague allowed Queen Jadwiga to ensure the proper training of priests for service in Lithuania until such a faculty could be properly established in Kraków itself. Halecki refers to the 'vivid cultural intercourse [of Prague] with Cracow',[124] in which the Prague Carmelites also played an important role. The reformed university of Kraków was inaugurated about a year after Jadwiga's death, on 26 July, 1400, with the inaugural lecture being delivered by Peter Wysz who, as bishop, automatically became its chancellor.[125]

The coming of the Carmelites to Kraków can thus be seen as part of a larger programme to reinforce ties between the two cities, especially since Prague had an

[119] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 226.
[120] Andrews, *The Other Friars*, p. 30.
[121] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 246.
[122] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 247.
[123] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 247.
[124] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 247.
[125] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou,* p. 262.

older and better established tradition of Catholicism, one rooted in the solid academic structure of the Charles University. The Carmelites who came from Prague to found the new convent, probably a mixture of Czechs and Germans, conveniently cooperated with the Queen's plans to strengthen intellectual and cultural ties with Bohemia, especially the Charles University in Prague. By reforming the Jagellonian University in Kraków and adding to it a faculty of theology, Władisław and Jadwiga increased the academic prestige of the school and added a religious dimension to it, further enhancing the image of Kraków as a particularly Catholic centre. Thus Carmelites from Prague formed an important part of a larger religious and political initiative both to strengthen ties between Kraków and Prague and to improve the spiritual atmosphere of the city.

The Carmelites and Medieval Kraków

Polish historians emphasize the cosmopolitan atmosphere of medieval Kraków, where German was at least as commonly heard on the street as Polish itself.[126] A large number of immigrants had settled in the Garbary section of Kraków outside the walls, where the newly arrived Carmelites began to build their monastery. Thus the Carmelites from Prague were in a position to minister to the Germans and presumably some Czechs who worked as tradesmen in the same area, since within their number some Carmelites presumably spoke both languages, helping the local workers to adjust to their new surroundings, even as they did so themselves, and ensuring the religious orthodoxy of their neighbours which facilitated their acceptance into Kraków society. One of the most famous German artists to work in Kraków in the fifteenth century was Veit Stoss, who came there in 1477 to begin his twelve-year project of executing the sculptures on the altarpiece for the Mariacki (St Mary's) church in the city's Main Square (Rynek Główny).[127] While we do not know whether Veit Stoss had any

[126] Trajdos mentions that the dialect spoken by the Germans around the Carmelite convent was a different one from the German patricians of the city: see *Zarania*, p. 198 for this discussion.

[127] Johannes Röll, 'Stoss [Stosz; Stuosz; Stwosz], Veit [Feyt; Veydt; Vit; Wit]', in *Grove Art Online*, <http://www.groveart.com/> [accessed 24 January 2007]; James Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art, Painting, Sculpure: The Graphic Arts from 1350 to 1575*, revised by Larry Silver and Henry Luttikhuizen (Upper Saddle River: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), pp. 285–87. There is disagreement between these two sources as to Stoss's date of birth: Snyder gives the year 1450 (p. 285) while Röll states that he was born *c*. 1445–50.

connection to the Carmelites of Kraków, his son Andreas, born either in 1477 or 1480[128] to Stoss and his first wife Barbara Hertz, entered the Carmelite order in Nürnberg in 1496. He received the doctorate in canon law from the University of Ingolstadt in 1517 and was elected provincial of the Upper German province in 1529.[129] He also enjoyed the favour of Bishop Weigand von Redwitz, who became Bishop of Bamberg in June of 1522; Andreas Stoss's counsel to the Bishop ultimately played an important role in some of the preparations for the Council of Trent, even though his death in 1540 precluded him from seeing the results of his efforts.[130] The original community of Czech Carmelites in Kraków was gradually replaced by native Poles, normally from the middle class.[131] Since members of the aristocracy would not be inclined to enter a mendicant order and since the peasants were presumably not sufficiently educated or skilled to do so, the butchers, tanners, parchmenters, and other middle class tradesmen of the local area became the most likely candidates to consider a vocation to the Carmelites.

The Visitation Convent and the Western Schism

From its foundation the Carmelite convent in Kraków was dedicated to the Visitation of the Virgin Mary, a feast that originally commemorated the translation of the Virgin's mantle from Palestine to Constantinople in the latter part of the fifth century,[132] but was promulgated again by Pope Boniface IX by his bull, *Superni benignitas conditoris* of 1389 for the purpose of ending the

[128] Adalbert Deckert, O. Carm., maintains that he was born in Kraków in 1480: Adalbert Deckert, 'Stoss, Andreas', *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, <www.bautz.de/bbkl> [accessed 24 January 2007]; Smet, *Carmelites,* I, 193, maintains that he was born in Nürnberg in 1477. Fr Gabriel a Virgine Carmeli, O.C.D., also gives his date of birth as 1477 in 'Die Karmeliten auf dem Konzil von Trient', *Ephemerides Carmeliticae*, 4 (1950), 291–359 (p. 333).

[129] Deckert, 'Stoss, Andreas'.

[130] Reinhold Schaffer, *Andreas Stoß, Sohn des Veit Stoß und seine gegenreformatorische Tätigkeit*, Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie, 5 (Breslau: Kommissionsverlag Müller & Seiffert, 1926).

[131] Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 197.

[132] R. W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 40.

western schism.[133] The western schism divided western Christianity in two, with France, Spain, Sicily, Naples, Savoy, and Scotland loyal to the Avignon pope while the Holy Roman Empire, England, Hungary, Scandinavia, and most of Italy remained loyal to the pope in Rome.[134] The Carmelites, along with the other international mendicant orders, were seriously affected by the schism, since their membership necessarily included provinces in both jurisdictions. Both popes instituted measures to reinforce their own authority. Thus on 1 March 1379 the Avignon pope Clement VII ordered the Carmelite General Bernard Oller, formerly provincial of Provence since 1366, to take measures against Carmelites who were loyal to the Roman pope, Urban VI.[135] The Roman pope, Urban VI, summoned the Prior General to Rome; when he did not appear, Urban deposed him from office and appointed Michael Aiguani of Bologna as vicar general.[136] Thus the schism even managed to divide the religious orders, including the Carmelites, into two groups.

From a political point of view, since Boniface's spiritual legitimacy and authority were constantly challenged by the partisans of Clement VII in Avignon,[137] the establishment of solid ties with eastern areas such as Bohemia and Poland could only strengthen his own political and moral authority. At the same time, if the authenticity of Poland's Catholicism, especially after the wholesale conversion of Lithuania at the time of Queen Jadwiga's marriage to Jagiełło, was undermined by the powerful Teutonic Knights, Poland's alliance with and loyalty to the Roman pope strengthened its own image as a properly Catholic country. Thus the potential of the Visitation feast to end the western schism was significant, since the schism took a substantial toll on the Carmelites and an even greater one on the larger mendicant orders such as the Franciscans and Dominicans, who were divided into two separate factions, each with its own General Chapter, within the same spiritual family. Presumably the pope hoped that the feast of the Visitation, which celebrates the reunion and dialogue between Mary and her cousin Elizabeth, would in turn foster dialogue between the two main divisions within the Church.

[133] Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, p. 40.

[134] W. Ullmann, 'Western Schism', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIV, 691–94, especially p. 693.

[135] Smet, *Carmelites,* I, 38.

[136] Smet, *The Carmelites,* I, 39.

[137] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 184.

The schism which began with the election on 20 September 1378 of Clement VII[138] as pope in Avignon and on 8 April 1378 of Urban VI[139] as pope in Rome, was thus eleven years old by the time of this papal bull and probably was running the risk of producing a permanently divided church. Piotr Wysz, appointed bishop of Kraków by Boniface in 1392[140], and John of Jenstein, the archbishop of Prague, were loyal to the Roman pope; furthermore, Queen Jadwiga, her spiritual advisors and Bishop Piotr Wysz of Kraków all were devoted to the veneration of the Virgin Mary.[141] In 1396 Wysz introduced the new feast of the Visitation to the diocese,[142] while Queen Jadwiga had recently founded an altar dedicated to the Visitation in the Wawel cathedral in 1392.[143] As we shall discuss in Chapter 3, the Carmelites accepted this feast into their liturgy at the General Chapter of Frankfurt in 1393,[144] so the local Carmelites observed it in their church even before it was accepted into the liturgy of the diocese itself. Thus while devotion at the cathedral altar was necessarily limited to the court elite, devotion at the Carmelite convent was open to everyone,[145] and in the years 1393–96 the Carmelite convent in Kraków had the only church where the laity could have celebrated the feast. Those who attended services for the Visitation also received indulgences of 100 days for Matins, 100 days for Mass, 100 days for second Vespers, 40 days for attending the little hours (prime, terce, sext, and none) and 100 days for attending Mass and the canonical hours during the octave,[146] thus providing the necessary spiritual impetus for their participation. Jadwiga's ties to Prague necessarily reinforced ties to Rome as well, given the loyalty of John of Jenstein, the Prague archbishop, to the Roman pope.

The Carmelites who arrived in Kraków came from Prague, a city whose loyalty to Boniface was unquestioned, whose archbishop was firmly committed to the reunification of the Church, and whose university could supply the necessary theological and intellectual strength to bring it about. The Carmelites, by

[138] Ullmann, 'Western Schism', p. 691.

[139] Ullmann, 'Western Schism', p. 691.

[140] Halecki, *Jadwiga of Anjou*, p. 170.

[141] Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 146.

[142] Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 146.

[143] Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 146.

[144] *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, ed. by Wessels, I, 109–10.

[145] Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 146

[146] Trajdos, *Zarania*, pp. 146–47.

establishing a convent under the patronage of Our Lady of the Visitation, not only fostered Marian devotion but also made a political statement about their loyalty to the Roman pope, their fidelity to the spiritual aims of John of Jenstein, who wrote some of the chants for the Visitation office, as we shall see in Chapter 3, and their willingness to cooperate with the political ambitions of Queen Jadwiga who invited them to Kraków. Thus the Carmelites made their own modest but distinctive contribution to strengthening the political and religious ties among the Polish crown, the see of Prague, and the Roman papacy.

The Apostolic Confirmation of Boniface IX

While the foundation document for the convent has been lost,[147] the document of Boniface IX confirming the Carmelite convent of Kraków is currently in the archive of the Carmelite convent of Kraków;[148] the version now in the archives of the order in Rome proves reliable. Since it gives a good idea of both the wishes of the newly arrived Carmelites and of the Pope himself, we include its text from the transcript of papal bulls pertaining to the Carmelites, dated 5 January 1401[149] along with translation, here.

Bonifacius Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei. Ad perpetuum rei memoriam.[150]

[147] Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 17

[148] This document has the signature AKKr Perg. 5; and is described in Kolak, *Katalog Archiwum*, pp. 53–54.

[149] *Bullarium Carmelitanum, I*, 156.

[150] Some of this material is formulaic; thus a similar document of Innocent VII to the Dominicans begins 'Innocentius episcopus servus servorum Dei, ad futuram rei memoriam' and continues 'Sedis Apostolicae providentia circumspecta, personas regular observantiae, vacantes assidue, studio piae vitae benigno favoure prosequitur, et ea quae pro earum statu', thus in almost identical terms to this document of Boniface to the Carmelites. Paragraph 1 begins 'Sane petitio pro parte dilectorum filiorum fratrum et dilectarum in Christo filiarum sororum Ordinis Praedicatorum', also similar to the Kraków Carmelite document, while paragraph 2 begins 'Nos igitur, qui, super praemissis omnibus', thus also similar to the Carmelite one. In other words, specific responses were inserted into the general formula of the document in each case. This Dominican bull is published in *Bullarum Diplomatum et Privilegiorum Sanctorum Romanorum Pontificum*, Taurensis Editio: locupletior facta collectione novissima plurium brevium, epistolarum, decretorum actorumque S. Sedis a s. Leone Magno usque ad praesens, IV (Augustae Taurinorum [Trier]: Seb. Franco and Henrico Dalmazzo, 1869), p. 637.

Sedis Apostolicae providentia circumspecta, personas sub religionis observantia vacantes assidue studio piae vitae, benigno favore prosequitur, et ea, quae pro divini cultus augmento, et religionis propagatione providenda deliberatione facta sunt, Apostolico consuevit munimine roborare.

1. Sane petitio pro parte dilectorum filiorum, prioris et fratrum domus Beatae Mariae Virginis extra muros Cracovienses, Ordinis Fratrum Beatae Mariae de Monte Carmelo Nobis nuper exhibita continebat quod olim ipsi ob reverentiam Dei, et ipsius Virginis extra muros praedictos in loco ad hoc congruo et honesto, piis fidelium in hoc intervenientibus muneribus atque suffragiis, domum praedictam cum ecclesia, campanili, campana, cemeterio, et aliis necessariis officinis, loci Ordinarii ad hoc accedente consensu pro hujusmodi cultus augmento ac eorum usu, et habitatione perpetuis, absque tamen licentia Sedis praedictae de novo fundarunt et construi fecerunt, et ex tunc in eadem domo, in qua divinis obsequiis mancipati existunt, praedicti cultus exercitium et regularis ejusdem Ordinis observantia laudabiliter viguerunt, prout vigent etiam de praesenti. Quare pro parte prioris, et fratrum eorundem Nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum ut fundationi et constructioni praedictis robur Apostolicae confirmationis adiicere, utque ipsi omnibus exemptionibus, immunitatibus, libertatibus, privilegiis, et indulgentiis, ac litteris Apostolicis gaudere valeant, quibus alii Fratres dicti Ordinis in aliis ipsorum domibus commorantes potiuntur, concedere de benignitate Apostolica dignaremur.

2. Nos igitur qui divini cultus augmentum et dicti Ordinis propagationem intensis desideriis affectamus, hujusmodi supplicationibus inclinati, fundationem et constructionem praedictas et quaecumque inde secura, rara habentes, grata, illi authoritate Apostolica ex certa scientia confirmamus et praesentis scripti patrocinio communimus, jure tamen parochialis ecclesiae, et cujuslibet alterius, in omnibus semper salvo. Volumus insuper et eadem authoritate concedimus quod tam praesentes quam posteri fratres praedicti Ordinis, qui in hujusmodi nova domo pro tempore commorabuntur, omnibus exemptionibus, immunitatibus, libertatibus, privilegiis, indulgentiis, et litteris Apostolicis gaudeant et utantur quibus alii fratres dicti Ordinis, in aliis eorum domibus commorantes gaudent, et quomodolibet potiuntur. Non obstantibus tam felicis recordationis Bonifacii Papae VIII, praedecessoris nostri prohibitione quod fratres Ordinis Mendicantium in aliqua civitate, terra, castro, aut villa loca de novo recipere aut recepta mutare praesumant absque praefatae Sedis licentia speciali, faciente plenam, et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto hujusmodi mentionem quam aliis constitutionibus Apostolicis contrariis quibuscumque.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrae confirmationis, communitionis, et voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem etc.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, nonis Januarii, pontificatus nostri anno duodecimo.

Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God. In perpetual memory.

The wise providence of the Holy See looks with benign favour upon those persons living under religious observance [and] assiduously cultivating a pious life, and it is accustomed to support with apostolic protection whatever is done with careful deliberation for the increase of divine worship and the propagation of religious life.

1. The request recently presented to Us by Our beloved sons, the prior and brothers of the convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary outside-the-walls of Kraków, of the Order of the Brothers of the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel, declared that, out of reverence for God and the Virgin, they at one time founded and caused to be constructed outside the said walls, in a suitable and respectable place, with the pious offerings and prayers of the faithful, the aforementioned convent with a church, bell-tower, bell, cemetery, and other necessary workshops, with the consent of the local ordinary, for the increase of this cult and for their perpetual use and habitation, without, however, the consent of the aforesaid [Holy] See. Thereafter, in that same convent in which the divine services are carried out, the practice of the said cult and the regular observance of the same Order have flourished in a praiseworthy manner, as they continue to flourish at present. Wherefore, on behalf of the same prior and brothers, a request has been humbly made to Us that the strength of apostolic confirmation be added to the aforesaid foundation and construction, so that they might be able to enjoy all the exemptions, immunities, liberties, privileges, indulgences, and apostolic letters which other brothers of the said Order, living in other convents of theirs, have acquired, we deign with apostolic benignity to concede.

2. We, therefore, who ardently desire the flourishing of divine worship and the spread of the said Order, [and] are favourably inclined to petitions of this kind, confirm with sure knowledge [and] apostolic authority the aforementioned foundation and construction and whatever possessions are secure, praiseworthy [literally, outstanding, distinguished], and agreeable; by the present letters fortify [patrocinio], safeguarding, however, in all things the rights of the parish church and of any other [church]. We wish, moreover, and by the same authority grant that both present and future brothers of the aforesaid Order, who will reside for a time in this new house, may enjoy and use all the exemptions, immunities, liberties, privileges, indulgences and apostolic letters which other brothers of the same Order, residing in other convents of theirs, enjoy and in any way possess. Notwithstanding the prohibition of our predecessor, Pope Boniface VIII, of happy memory, to the effect that brothers of Mendicant Orders in whatever city, country, town, or village should not receive new places or change what they have received without the special permission of the aforesaid Holy See, by making full and express mention, word for word, of this indult, rather than other apostolic constitutions to the contrary.

> Therefore, let absolutely no one infringe upon this our decree of confirmation, establishment and will, or oppose it by an arrogant deed. If however someone [. . .] etc.
>
> Given in Rome at St. Peter's, the nones of January [i.e., 5 January], in the twelfth year of our pontificate.

The introductory paragraph refers to the assiduous pursuit of a holy life which characterized the life style of the Kraków Carmelites (and presumably the other religious of the city) and speaks of its support for the increase of divine worship and the propagation of religious life. Paragraph 1 of the document speaks of the Carmelite convent being named for the Blessed Virgin, of their title as brothers of the Blessed Virgin and of their reverence for God and the Virgin, thus highlighting the significance of their association with Mary.

The document specifically mentions that the Carmelites had the approval of the local bishop, but not the Holy See, an omission of sufficient importance to be directly mentioned in the papal bull. It is of course conceivable that the Carmelites considered the approbation of the local bishop sufficient or that they wanted enough time to establish their credibility before asking for official papal approval, but it nevertheless seems to have been a breach of protocol on their part. Equally clear is that the divine services, celebration of religion, and observance of the rule all contributed to a praiseworthy form of religious life in the convent; through this vital religious activity the convent in turn contributed to the spiritual welfare of the city.

It was advantageous to the Carmelites to have papal approbation for their foundation since such apostolic confirmation entitled them to the privileges and exemptions appropriate to their mendicant status which their confreres in other convents of the order already enjoyed. Through it they became firmly established as an acknowledged religious entity in the city of Kraków and as a fully viable convent within the international network of Carmelite religious houses.

Section 2 states the Pope's desire for the 'flourishing of divine worship' as an important reason for granting their petition, although with a proviso safeguarding the rights of the local parish church. This approbation was given both to the present Carmelites and to those who would come after them, presumably in perpetuity. Despite an earlier prohibition of Boniface VIII forbidding the mendicants either to take up new residences or to transfer from one convent to the other without prior permission of the Holy See, Boniface IX clearly gave the decree of confirmation to the newly arrived Carmelites without reservation.

Boniface specifically referred to the question of divine worship in the prologue, its increase in Paragraph 1 and its flourishing in Paragraph 2. Thus the 'flourishing of divine worship' referred explicitly to the importance of their liturgical activity, both in the public services they offered for the local people to ensure their orthodoxy, and in their own liturgical tradition for Mass and the Divine Office, to which they were bound as clerics in the mendicant model; the distinctiveness of their liturgical tradition necessarily contributed to the variety of worship within the city

While this letter of confirmation does not declare divine worship to be the sole purpose of the Carmelite presence in Kraków, it does not mention any other significant work, although one may presume that at least the ordinary pastoral care of the faithful in the neighbourhood was intended as well. While the Dominicans specifically emphasized preaching and learning after the example of Dominic, and while the Franciscans had a particular mission to the poor, following the example of Francis, no specific founder or spiritual thrust for the Carmelites is mentioned in the document. Rather, for the Carmelites 'assiduously cultivating a pious life' was their primary aim, no longer in the solitude of Mount Carmel, but now adapted to different circumstances in an urban setting, in this case in a new country and linguistic community.

The second reason mentioned for this papal approval was Boniface IX's desire for the propagation of religious life. This occurred on two fronts: as a newly arrived mendicant order the Carmelites added to the variety of religious life in Kraków, already well established by this time, and as active mendicants they ensured the future stability of the ever expanding Catholic population, most of whom would probably have to live outside the walls of the city. Thus they provided for the spiritual well-being of their neighbours through their mendicant apostolic activity. As the only mendicant order in this area, the Carmelites provided a valuable service to the diocese and at considerable personal sacrifice, since the tanning activity made the area a rather unsavoury place in which to live. Interacting as mendicants with the local population ensured the expansion of worship, given the increasing number of new immigrants to the area. The immigrants themselves, as members of the local trades, formed the ideal candidates for recruitment to the order, since as businessmen they had the necessary skills and intelligence to lead a mendicant life, a social and economic improvement for them despite the vow of poverty. Their mendicant activity enabled the friars to mingle with the area residents, not only to ensure their fidelity to the spiritual activities of the church, but also for the purpose of recruitment to the order. Thus the 'propagation of religious

life' allowed for the expansion of the Carmelite community, even as it enhanced the religious atmosphere of the city.

The term 'sane petitio' indicates that the Holy See considered such a request as a normal and reasonable consequence of a religious community settling in a city and points out that it was made by the prior and brothers of the local convent, not Carmelites at a higher juridical level such as a provincial or even a general, which evidently was also considered normal procedure. This presumably reflected the custom of the time and also the rapid expansion of the Upper German province of Carmelites.

The local Carmelite convent was known by a Marian title, although Boniface IX made no reference either to the local devotion to Our Lady 'in arenis' or 'na piasku' ['on the Sands'], nor to the title of the Visitation under which the convent was dedicated. Perhaps this latter title was bestowed only when the church, whose construction was only being petitioned, was itself finally dedicated. The devotion to Our Lady on the Sands, while important to the local populace, never enjoyed papal approbation. Both the recently expanded feast of Our Lady of the Snows and the newly promulgated feast of the Visitation had strong ties to John of Jenstein, the archbishop of Prague, to be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 3, but no political connection either to the Prague archbishop or to the Polish queen is mentioned in the papal bull.

The reference in the bull to the Carmelite convent as being 'outside the walls' was also used in many subsequent documents, both civil and ecclesiastical, perhaps because it was the only such mendicant convent outside the city walls. Implicit in this reference is the recognition that by being outside the walls the Carmelites were providing a valuable apostolic service to the local church of Kraków.

The document refers to the Carmelites as the brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel, a title which clearly reflects their strong Marian devotion, unencumbered by a relationship with or devotion to any specific founder, comparable to Francis or Dominic. No mention is made of the order's Elijan devotion or tradition, probably because devotion to Our Lady on the Sands, established long before the arrival of the Carmelites, preempted other Carmelite devotions.

The Development of Convent Life

Our Lady 'on the Sands'

A primary point of interest in the Garbary area, known as 'on the Sands' because of its uncertain terrain, was the legend circulating in the seventeenth century that Prince Władisław Herman had the first church built there in gratitude for a miraculous healing he received through the scent of violets that he found as instructed by the Virgin Mary in a dream.[151] This later legend is not historically well founded, since Długosz, a contemporary of King Jagiełło and tutor of his grandsons, clearly wrote in his *Liber beneficiorum* that Queen Jadwiga built the church. Maciej Miechowita mentions that the Carmelite church of the Visitation was built under the direct supervision of the Queen and her consort, Władisław Jagiełło.[152] The Carmelites established their church and convent on the same site and quickly took charge of the local devotion to 'Our Lady on the Sands,' where they attended to the spiritual needs of their neighbours while continuing to propagate an already popular devotion. While churches such as St Mary's [Mariacki] church on the old [town] square [Rynek Główny] were already dedicated to Mary and while orders such as the Dominicans were largely responsible for honouring her through the rosary, the Carmelite presence outside the walls offered the opportunity for a distinctive and well established Marian devotion which responded to the spiritual needs of the local people without challenging other existing religious practices. At the same time the Carmelites fulfilled a worthwhile need by supplying educated and doctrinally sound personnel to staff a shrine church.

The Carmelites took seriously this devotion to Our Lady on the Sands: they painted or preserved an icon of the Virgin on the spot where the miracle was reported to have taken place that became the focal point of the church itself. The painting of this icon is depicted in a ceiling medallion in the convent sacristy, shown as our Figure 2. The baroque church which currently stands on the spot features the image of the Virgin Mary inside a chapel deliberately

[151] Tomaszewski, 'Dzieje Klasztoru OO. Karmelitów', p. 13.

[152] Tomaszewski, 'Dzieje Klasztoru OO. Karmelitów', p. 14, citing (in n. 52) Maciej Miechowita, *Cronica Polonorum*, p. 275.

constructed around it, now part of the larger basilica church with the convent itself adjacent to the church on the opposite side of this chapel.[153]

The devotion to Our Lady on the Sands and the maintenance of the chapel to promote it gave the Carmelites a useful vehicle for fulfilling the terms of their establishment, namely, 'the increase of divine worship'. As a newly arrived religious order with a venerable tradition of honouring the Virgin Mary the Carmelites were both well qualified to administer such a shrine and unencumbered by devotion to a specific founder which might mitigate their enthusiasm for the Virgin Mary under the unique title, 'Our Lady on the Sands'. At the same time, no proper feast for Our Lady on the Sands was ever approved for celebration by the faithful in Kraków or by the Carmelites in their own liturgy; however, the miracle and the shrine provided a convenient vehicle for celebrating Mary in general, including all the Marian feasts which were part of the Carmelite rite.



Figure 2: Ceiling medallion of the image of Our Lady on the Sands.

A book entitled *Diva Virgo Cracoviensis* documents the miracles worked through the intercession of Our Lady on the Sands during the seventeenth century.[154] These accounts reinforced the importance of the shrine church as a

[153] Tadeusz M. Trajdos, 'Fundacja Klasztoru karmelitów', pp. 91–127.

[154] (Nicolaus Grodzinski), *Diva virgo cracoviensis carmelitana in Arenis, seu Violeto, toto regno Poloniarum miraculis celeberrima, olim a perillustri & admodum Reverendo*

place of local pilgrimage where prayers were heard and answered. Such accounts gave the church its own distinctive character, not just as a site with a foundational miracle, but as one which continued to be a powerful centre of prayer and spiritual healing. One can safely presume that the preaching which took place there also included at least references to miraculous healings, so that the reported events, the preaching, the liturgy and all the other spiritual activities became part of a single fabric which ministered to the spiritual needs of the local townspeople and fostered the development of the shrine church.

The Confraternity and Social Engagement

The idea of a confraternity dedicated to Our Lady of Mount Carmel allowed friends and associates of a Carmelite community to be allied juridically and spiritually to the convent's pious and charitable works. Such an association of lay people with the Carmelite community dates to the middle of the thirteenth century where, in Toulouse for instance, the local confraternity numbered some 5000 men and women in 1267.[155] Similarly Marian hymn-singers have been documented in Florence (1280), Siena (1289), and Cambridge (*c.* 1300).[156] While Joachim Smet cautions that these confraternities should not be confused with the later scapular confraternities, one can see in such informal associations with the Carmelites and their convents, the roots of a tradition that would be formalized in later years. Tadeusz Trajdos postulates such a loose association around the Kraków convent by 1411, noting that the Carmelite prior general in that year recommended inviting the eldermen of Kraków into such a confraternity.[157] Trajdos maintains that the eldermen of Kraków were given extended privileges among the Carmelites, being presented to the General Chapter, for instance, and that their piety and generosity to the Carmelites were extolled. These confraternities both provided charity to the poor and established a social network for the members through their regular meetings.[158] Participation

Domino Nicolao Grodzinski, S.R.M. secretario, ex voto scripta, nunc vero ob maiorem in dies miraculorum gloriam a devotis eiusdem Arenensis Carmeli cultoribus ac fratribus luci publicae exposita . . . (Kraków: Ex officina Schedeliana, 1669).

155 Smet, *Carmelites,* I, 25.

156 Smet, *Carmelites,* I, 25.

157 Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 132.

158 Andrews, *The Other Friars*, p. 32.

in the activities of these confraternities, like visits to Carmelite churches, was often reinforced with indulgences.[159] Thus it was most likely that the members of the Kraków confraternity contributed money and goods towards the Carmelite church.[160] The official establishment of the Scapular Confraternity in Kraków, however, dates to the seventeenth century and parallels an expansion of Marian devotion throughout Poland during this time. Thus the pilgrimage centre of Kalwaria Zebrzydowska was built between 1603 and 1609[161] and the solemn coronation of the Black Madonna of Częstochowa took place a century later, on 8 September 1717.[162] The seventeenth century also saw the growth of confraternities of pious laymen, known as *bractwa*; Norman Davies points out that these confraternities were known for their devotion to the rosary, processions, prayer meetings, and occasionally more exotic practices such as communal flagellation.[163] Thus the progressive development of the Scapular Confraternity among the Kraków Carmelites[164] can be seen in the context of this larger interest in Marian devotion throughout Poland and of the widespread development of organizations that promoted devotion to particular saints of a religious order. The Kraków Scapular Confraternity also featured considerable musical activity, especially concerning liturgical ceremonies for its own members.[165] A seventeenth-century account book known as the *Catalogus receptorum* lists payments to specific musicians including, for example numerous instrumentalists. Despite the stipulations of the Council of Trent prohibiting the use of instruments in liturgy,[166] clearly for some of these celebrations the organ was used along with a

[159] Andrews, *The Other Friars*, p. 33.

[160] Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 132.

[161] Zamoyski, *The Polish Way*, p. 201. Norman Davies mentions this shrine, but maintains that it was laid out by Michał Zebrzydowski in 1613: see Davies, *God's Playground*, I, 170 for this discussion.

[162] Zamoyski, *The Polish Way*, p. 201; Davies, *God's Playground*, I, 172.

[163] Davies, *God's Playground*, I, 17.

[164] The history of this Kraków Scapular Confraternity has been documented in O. Piotr Spiller, O. Carm. and Genowefa Zań-Ograbek, *Arcybractwo Szkaplerza Świętego przy kościele Karmelitów w Krakowie 'Na Piasku', Historia, duchowość, ikonografia* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo 'Czuwajmy', 2001).

[165] Tadeusz Maciejewski, 'Działalność Musyczna Bractwa Szkaplerznego w Kościele OO. Karmelitów Trzewiczkowych w Krakowie na Piasku', *Muzyka* 2 (1978), 59–71.

[166] For a discussion of the effects of the Council of Trent on Catholic liturgy, see James Boyce, O. Carm., 'Singing a New Song unto the Lord: Catholic Church Music', in *From*

small orchestra. One cannot help but wonder whether this elaborate music used for the Scapular Confraternity celebrations extended also to other aspects of the Kraków Carmelite liturgy.

The Place of Learning in the Convent

The Carmelites and the Jagellonian University. A significant accomplishment of Queen Jadwiga's reign was the expansion of the Jagellonian University, including the establishment of a faculty of theology, around 1400, so that the Carmelites of the Upper German Province sent students there for studies.[167] Tadeusz Trajdos has documented the Carmelites from the Kraków convent, who matriculated at the Jagellonian University during the course of the fifteenth century.[168] By 1472 the school that the Kraków Carmelites had developed in the convent was designated as a *studium generale* by the order and probably incorporated into the university at the same time.[169] Mendicant friars attended the university only after completing at least a year of studies in one of the regional schools known as *studia particularia*. [170] University training included studies in Boethius's paraphrase of Nicholas of Gerasa for music and arithmetic as part of the quadrivium;[171] thus Carmelite students received both a theoretical understanding of music as well as the ability to chant it, at the very least, as part of their educational training. The priory functioned as a training ground for the Carmelites in the basic education in Latin grammar, logic, philosophy, and

Trent to Vatican II: Historical and Theological Investigations, ed. by Raymond F. Bulman and Frederick J. Parrella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 137–59.

[167] Thus, for instance, Franz-Bernard Lickteig has identified Hermannus de Budstette and Joannes de Schanwerde as the first known German Carmelites to enroll at the Jagellonian University in 1403, apparently as philosophy students; Franz-Bernard Lickteig, *The German Carmelites at the Medieval Universities* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1981), p. 373.

[168] Tadeusz M. Trajdos, 'Karmelici trzewiczkowi w Akademii Krakowskiej w XV wieku', *Poznańskie Studia Teologniczne*, 6 (1986), 291–300; his lists of graduates occur on pp. 293–94 and 299.

[169] Lickteig, *German Carmelites*, p. 374.

[170] Bruce P. Flood, Jr., 'The Carmelite Friars in Medieval English Universities and Society, 1299–1430', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale (A Journal of Ancient and Medieval Christian Literature)*, 55 (1988), 154–83, especially pp. 157–61.

[171] Flood, 'The Carmelite Friars in Medieval English Universities', p. 158.

pastoral theology which prepared them to perform their liturgical duties and celebrate the necessary masses within the convent; the university provided some Carmelites with the advanced degrees in theology that licensed them as preachers, teachers in the convent, pastors outside the convent, and even as university teachers.

Literary Materials in the Convent. Richard and Mary Rouse discuss the importance of thirteenth-century Paris for commercial book production:

> As for our choice of Paris, she had no challenger: seat of a wealthy bishopric and of the royal court, permanent home of the growing royal bureaucracy and of the foremost European university, and thus, until about 1400 at least, uncontested centre of commercial book production in Northern Europe.'[172]

Kraków at the end of the fourteenth century, like Paris at the beginning of the thirteenth, also could boast its royal court at the Wawel Castle, its cathedral, also part of the castle complex, and its university, not to mention its convents of friars and other religious, all institutions that had an interest in the acquisition of books for spiritual and intellectual reasons. For the Carmelites, the liturgical manuscripts to be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 were presumably written by the friars in the Kraków convent, using parchment which they bought locally. The needs of the court, cathedral, university, and local religious houses guaranteed that a trade of books and manuscript production would be profitable in Kraków; the surviving books and manuscripts in the convent library and sacristy indicate that the Carmelites participated fully in this book trade.

A collection of 368 incunabula within the Carmelite convent serves as a reminder of the importance of study to the local Carmelites. Included in the collection are five volumes of works by the Carmelite Baptist of Mantua and the life of St Albert of Sicily by the Carmelite Ioannes Mariae de Poluciis [Novolaria], upon which his liturgical office was based, as we shall see in Chapter 4, as well as a life of St Anne published in Leipzig in 1507. While the collection does not include specifically musical treatises, such as St Augustine's *De Musica* or Boethius' book on the fundamentals of music, it contains the major works that one would expect a scholarly theological library to have. It also includes elevn copies of the Bible, including some with glosses by Walafrid Strabo, Nicholas of Lyra, or Hugh of St Cher, as well as one printed Psalter. The

[172] Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers,* I, 11. They elaborate upon the importance of castle, cathedral, and university for the Paris book trade on p. 18.

incunabula of course are simply the printed books which the local Carmelites acquired for the fifteenth-century library. One can reasonably assume that some manuscript codices were brought from Prague in 1397 to found the new convent and that other manuscripts were added to their original collection. K. W. Humphreys has discussed the significant manuscript collection in the Carmine of Florence at the end of the fourteenth century[173] and we can reasonably presume that the Kraków collection also became substantial during the fifteenth century, even though the manuscripts have not survived. Paramount among these earlier works would be sermon collections to serve as models for the Carmelites in preparation for their pastoral preaching work as well as for their personal reflection.[174] This collection of surviving incunabula suggests that Carmelite liturgical activity paralleled a sophisticated degree of learning in the convent, where theological study was a highly valued activity. Frances Andrews points out that from the 1320s at the latest each friar, at the end of the novitiate, received enough money to acquire a breviary and, in some cases, other books as well.[175] At death his books were returned to his province of origin, either to be sold or given to one of the other friars.[176] The local community of Kraków Carmelites no doubt had the necessary acumen to purchase judiciously from the local book sellers. All these reflect a mendicant library[177] rather than a monastic one, that is, a practical collection designed for educational purposes within the convent rather than a personal collection brought by an entering monk or luxurious manuscripts to reflect the prestige of the house. The number of copies of an individual book suggests that they were available for communal use rather than being privately owned, as befits a mendicant order living under a vow of poverty. Since mendicants were frequently transferred from one convent to another, a personal library would

[173] K. W. Humphreys, *The Library of the Carmelites at Florence at the End of the Fourteenth Century* (Amsterdam: Erasmus, 1964).

[174] Andrews, *The Other Friars*, p. 44. Valerie Edden has pointed out the importance of sermon collections for the pastoral and spiritual preparation of Carmelites: see Edden, 'A Carmelite Sermon Cycle British Library Royal 7.B.I', *Carmelus*, 43 (1996), 99–122 (p. 116).

[175] Andrews, *The Other Friars*, p. 60.

[176] Andrews, *The Other Friars*, p. 48.

[177] For a much more detailed discussion of a Carmelite library, although a manuscript collection rather than incunabula, see K. W. Humphreys, *The Library of the Carmelites*. Humphreys discusses Carmelite legislation regarding the ownership and use of books on pp. 7–10 of his study.

prove more of an encumbrance than an asset. The original convent was completely burned by the Swedish army who invaded Kraków in 1655.[178] While some books or manuscripts may have been lost in the fire of 1655, what remains is consistent with what one would expect in a mendicant library. Our survey of some of its contents shows that it is a collection carefully compiled with the intent of providing the necessary materials for the theological education of the friars; of course it now constitutes a major treasure of the convent library.

In addition to the liturgical manuscripts and related books to be discussed in Chapter 3, a large collection of vocal polyphonic and instrumental music scores gives an idea of the elaborate liturgical performances, including choral and orchestral works, which must have been an integral part of worship in the church during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Tadeusz Maciejewski made an inventory of the musical holdings of the convent covering the years 1665–84.[179] In addition to some standard antiphonals and graduals (the antiphonals are presumably the same ones we will discuss in Chapter 3) his listing of pieces includes some 545 works, nine of which are printed works and the rest manuscripts, generally consisting of vocal or instrumental pieces for liturgical performance both in the convent and perhaps in the Scapular Confraternity. Clearly instrumental performance for the services and regular polyphonic singing were prominent features in the convent's Masses and office liturgies. The years covered in this inventory coincide with the reconstruction of the church after the fire of 1655. This study demonastrates that elaborate polyphonic vocal music, vocal music with instrumental accompaniment, and instrumental solo music were regular features of the local liturgy, complementing the collection of liturgical chant manuscripts.

Conclusions

Despite their eremitical origins we have demonstrated that the Kraków Carmelites clearly functioned as active mendicant friars. Their location in the tanners' quarter outside the city walls may have originally been considered less

[178] Zamoyski, *The Polish Way*, p. 169; Davies, *God's Playground*, I, 266–67; Biskupski, *History of Poland*, p. 16.

[179] Tadeusz Maciejewski, 'Inwentarz Muzykaliów Kapeli Karmelickiej w Krakowie na Piasku z Lat 1665-1684', *Muzyka*, 2 (1976), 77–99.

prestigious than the location of the older and more numerous Franciscans and Dominicans, but put the Carmelites in a unique position to minister to newly-arrived tradesmen who were required out of necessity to live outside the city walls. The Carmelites' ready adoption of the devotion to Our Lady on the Sands enabled them to maintain and develop a unique Marian devotion that met the spiritual needs of their neighbours. At the same time, by dedicating their convent under the title of the Visitation, the Carmelites ingratiated themselves with the Prague archbishop John of Jenstein, Bishop Piotr Wysz of Kraków, Pope Boniface IX and Queen Jadwiga. Their arrival into Kraków at the end of the fourteenth century actually proved fortuitous, since it enabled the Carmelites to comply with the spiritual aims of both Bishop Piotr Wysz and Queen Jadwiga in a way that would have been impossible had they arrived significantly earlier or later.

We can reasonably presume that within the convent some Carmelites went out to study, some tended the shrine church, and the brothers took care of the household tasks. Suitably qualified Carmelite priests spent their time celebrating liturgy, preaching, and hearing confessions, while a number of others trained the students within the convent, either those in the novitiate, the period of initial formation, or those pursuing higher studies in liberal arts or in theology. The one constant factor that united all the members of the community was the celebration of the liturgy, especially the canonical hours known as the Divine Office. The development and regulation of this Carmelite liturgical tradition is the focus of Chapter 2.

Chapter 2

Liturgy and the Self-Understanding of the Kraków Carmelites

In Chapter 1 we discussed the eremitical origins of the Carmelites and their progressive transformation into a mendicant order, a process that was necessary to their survival as a religious community. This change marked a significant departure from their original intention to live as hermits on Mount Carmel and also allowed them to expand into an international religious order whose presence extended to Kraków by the end of the fourteenth century. This transformation into a mendicant order included the development of a distinctive and uniform liturgy which distinguished the Carmelites from their diocesan and mendicant colleagues. Thus the 'flourishing of divine worship' that we discussed in the confirmation bull of Boniface IX entailed an appreciation of the unique contribution that the Carmelite liturgy would make to the spiritual life of Kraków. It remains for us to examine this liturgical tradition, discuss its progressive development during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and then to demonstrate how the liturgy contributed to the Carmelites' self-understanding as a religious community. In this chapter we will discuss the Carmelite liturgy under the following topics: 1) monks, canons and mendicants and their liturgy; 2) the general structure of the medieval office; 3) the Carmelites and the rite of the Holy Sepulchre; 4) thirteenth-century General Chapters and the Carmelite liturgy; 5) the ordinal of Sibert de Beka; 6) later Carmelite chapters and liturgical legislation; 7) the constitutions of 1357; 8) the constitutions of 1357 and the ordinal of Sibert de Beka; 9) the liturgical year and the life of the Carmelite; 10) the role of the choir book in the Carmelite convent; and 11) modern sources for studying liturgy.

Monks, Canons, and Mendicants and their Liturgy

Monks

The establishment of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century offered the Church a style of religious life distinct from that of both monks and secular canons. From the sixth century, when St Benedict of Nursia established the western monastic tradition,[1] Benedictine monasticism defined Christian religious life in the west. The Rule of St Benedict[2] outlined the organization of a monastic community, including the daily routine of prayer and work which characterized their way of life. At profession the monk took a vow of stability[3] in which he promised to remain in the same monastery for life. The Benedictine motto of 'ora et labora' ('pray and work')[4] both organized the rhythms of daily life and gave meaning to the monastic vocation. It emphasized a balance between liturgical prayer and manual labour, the two principal activities which defined monasticism, although Lester K. Little points out that over time the liturgy consumed so much of the monastic schedule that manual labour and other forms of work fell into disuse.[5] The liturgy gave a rhythm to the day, the year, and ultimately the entire life of the monk.

The monastic schedule organized the liturgical day according to the eight prayer times or hours collectively known as the Divine Office[6] which, along with the celebration of Mass and individual prayer, gave meaning to the life of

[1] A. G. Biggs and R. K. Seasoltz, 'Benedictines', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 267–73.

[2] M. D. Knowles and R. K. Seasoltz, 'Benedictine Rule', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 261–63; J. Leclercq and R. K. Seasoltz, 'Benedictine Spirituality', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 263–67.

[3] The three promises the Benedictine makes are stability, conversion of manners, and obedience: 'Let him who is to be received make in the oratory, in the presence of all, a promise of stability, conversion of manners, and obedience, before God and His saints', *Holy Rule of Benedict*, ed. by the Benedictine Monks of St Meinrad Archabbey, Chapter 58, p. 73.

[4] Chapter 48 of the Benedictine Rule prescribes that 'the brethren should be occupied at certain times in manual labour, and at other fixed hours in holy reading': *Holy Rule of St Benedict*, ed. by the Benedictine Monks of St Meinrad Archabbey, pp. 61, 63.

[5] Lester K. Little points out that 'by the late eleventh century it [i.e., the liturgy] had expanded to fill practically the entire day': *Religious Poverty*, p. 67.

[6] For a comprehensive overview of the Divine Office, see Ruth Steiner and Keith Falconer, 'Divine Office', in *Grove Music Online* <http://www.grovemusic.com> [accessed 24 January 2007].

the monk. The monastic schedule or *horarium* required the celebration of the hour-long service known as Matins during the night, while Lauds probably was done shortly after rising in the morning. Vespers and Compline were normally sung in the later afternoon and before retiring for the night respectively. These four office hours, known as the greater hours because they were longer and structurally more complex than the others, were balanced by the lesser hours, usually done at intervals during the day, and known as Prime, Terce, Sext, and None for the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours. One can presume that Prime and Terce were prayed during the morning hours, Sext around noon and None in the early afternoon, although it is likely that in some monasteries these shorter hours were combined to allow for a more efficient use of time for manual labour or intellectual pursuits. The schedule of the day varied between summer and winter, since the hours of daylight, not to mention the weather, had a substantial influence on the work, prayer, and activity of the monastery, including manuscript production. While Benedictine monasteries remained independent institutions under the rule of St Benedict, various movements to either reform or centralize the monastic experience punctuated the life of the later middle ages, including the Cistercian reform[7] which featured a standardized liturgy,[8] and the Cluniac reform,[9] which centralized a large number of abbeys under the central control of the monastery of Cluny.

Canons

While monks were pledged by their vow of stability to a particular monastery somewhat apart from the general population, canons were attached to the cathedral or collegiate church in the larger towns and cities of medieval Europe. While Bishop Chrodegang of Metz wrote a *Regula canonicorum* for the canons

[7] Little discusses the Cistercians in *Religious Poverty*, pp. 90–96.

[8] For an overview of the Cistercian liturgical reform, see Solutor Rodolphe Marosszéki, *Les origines du chant cistercien: Recherches sur les réformes du plain-chant cistercien au XIIe siècle*, Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis, 8 (Rome: apud Curiam generalem Sacri ordinis cisterciensis, 1952); Chrysogonus Waddell, 'The Origin and Early Evolution of the Cistercian Antiphonary: Reflections on Two Cistercian Chant Reforms', in *The Cistercian Spirit: A Symposium in Memory of Thomas Merton*, ed. by M. Basil Pennington, Cistercian Studies Series, 3 (Spencer: Cistercian Publications, 1970), pp. 190–223.

[9] For an overview of the Cluniac tradition, see Noreen Hunt, *Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages* (London: Macmillan, 1971).

at his cathedral in the eighth century,[10] the more famous rule for canons is that attributed to St Augustine, generally based on documents known as the *Regula secunda* or *Ordo monasterii* and the *Regula tertia*, an adaptation of his Epistle 211 for a male community.[11] These two rules in combination came to be known as the rule of St Augustine; while the earliest extant manuscripts containing such a rule date to the sixth century, it was revived and became widespread only in the eleventh.[12] Cathedral canons lived in community and followed his rule, while still remaining diocesan clergy, thereby explaining the importance of the office of St Augustine in the Holy Sepulchre and Carmelite liturgies.

The canons of a cathedral or collegiate church were responsible for maintaining the cycle of liturgies there in a parallel fashion to the activity of the monks in their monasteries. Despite the prestige of the canons' status, their liturgical offices tended to be simpler than those of their monastic counterparts, perhaps to compensate for the demands of their other duties. Liturgy formed an important part of their daily routine, since the canons were required to sing the Divine Office in choir each day in the cathedral and to ensure the smooth operation of all the liturgical activities there. The correct performance of the liturgy in the cathedral, the primary church of the diocese, was essential to the spiritual life of the local church. The cathedral offices thus necessarily served as a model for the liturgy in all the diocesan parishes. The canons regulated the cathedral ceremonies and determined its liturgical calendar, thus influencing the addition of new feasts to the diocesan liturgy.

While monks observed a vow of poverty and held everything in common, canons relied on fixed salaries, or prebends, which covered their daily expenses and compensated them for the services they rendered to the cathedral, including their liturgical performance at Mass and the Divine Office. Since their salary was fixed and allotted on a regular basis, unexcused absences from choir resulted in fines, rather than in other forms of penance.[13]

[10] Little, *Religious Poverty*, p. 100.

[11] Little discusses the complexities associated with the Rule of St. Augustine in *Religious Poverty*, especially on pp. 102–04.

[12] Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe*, pp. 102–03.

[13] For a discussion of the role of the canons in the cathedral, see R. Latrémouille and J. Gilchrist, 'Canons, Chapter of', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, III, 66–67; Craig Wright, in discussing the canons of the cathedral of Cambrai, notes that the number of singers was carefully regulated: 'Although all the vicars, great as well as lesser, were required to attend all canonical hours and Mass lest they be fined, the chapter ordered that a very minimum

Mendicant Friars

The members of the new mendicant orders professed religious vows of poverty, chastity and obedience but not stability, since they were expected to move about freely from place to place as ministerial needs dictated. While mendicant daily life, like the monastic life, was regulated by work and liturgy, the work of the mendicants involved direct contact and active engagement with the Christian laity of the newly developing cities, in contrast to the monks who worked in virtual seclusion in the countryside.

The term 'mendicant' was used to describe these friars, since they became dependent on the local population to remunerate them in return for the spiritual services they rendered. Unlike monks whose financial security was guaranteed by the monastery and unlike canons whose salary was established by the cathedral chapter, mendicant friars had to rely on their own spiritual skills, intellectual acumen, and ministerial labour to earn their income. Although they lived in community under a vow of poverty, the community's income nevertheless depended on the efforts of the individual friars to earn it. Thus, as we have seen in Chapter 1, a good education in theology, first in the Carmelite convent itself, then later in the *studium generale* for university training, was essential to ensure the Carmelites' competence for ministry, particularly preaching and hearing confessions, as mendicant priests. The mendicant movement quickly became a new social, economic, and spiritual force in the life of European towns and cities.

Mendicant friars professed their vows to their own superiors, to whom they were accountable, rather than to the local bishop. The local community was accountable to the diocesan bishop, but as an international order the mendicants enjoyed relative independence from diocesan authority and a freedom of movement which became increasingly necessary as they quickly expanded throughout most of Europe. Their internationality thus set the friars apart from both monks and canons. While canons were generally responsible for the liturgy of a given cathedral, mendicants were attached instead to a religious community and its convent church, where they followed a liturgy that was distinctive to the order and different from any single diocesan rite.

of four lesser vicars always be present at each lectern, and in 1504 raised the number to five': Craig Wright, 'Performance Practices at the Cathedral of Cambrai 1475-1550', *The Musical Quarterly*, 64 (1978), 295–328 (p. 297).

The internationality of the mendicant orders and the consequent flexibility required of their members, given the possibility of frequent transfers from one locale to another, also required a strong central authority and uniformity of customs, especially concerning liturgical practices. Thus for all the mendicant orders a strong, stable, and centralized liturgy became essential, since the mendicant emphasis on the local apostolate precluded spending long hours in choir practice like their monk and canon counterparts. Perhaps because of this mobility, the mendicant orders adopted the square Roman notation, whose emergence during the thirteenth century[14] generally coincided with their own development as religious orders, as the standard uniform notation for all their choir books and related musical manuscripts.

The two principal mendicant orders of the later middle ages are the Franciscans and Dominicans. The story of the Franciscan liturgy is closely allied with that of the Roman church,[15] so that much confusion surrounds the formulation of the Franciscan tradition, although the ordinal of Haymo of Faversham[16] did eventually standardize it. St Dominic, as a canon of the cathedral of El Burgo de Osma in Spain, not only understood how the liturgy functioned on a daily basis but also appreciated its importance. Not surprisingly he appropriated the cathedral liturgy for use among his friars, presumably because he was already familiar with it. The cathedral liturgy was generally shorter than the monastic one, although still of considerable length. This format allowed the friar to be faithful to the daily schedule of offices which characterized religious life and was a requirement for clerics; at the same time

[14] David Hiley and Janka Szendrei, 'Notation', in *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.grovemusic.com> [accessed 24 January 2007]; also Michel Huglo, 'Règlement du XIIIe siècle pour la transcription de livres notés', *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by M. Ruhnke (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), pp. 121–33; Stephen J. P. van Dijk, *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and Related Documents (1243-1307)* (Leiden: Brill, 1963). See also J. D. Crichton, 'The Office in the West: The Later Middle Ages', in *The Study of Liturgy*, ed. by Cheslyn Jones and others (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 378–82. Some monastic scribes also adopted the square Roman notation: thus the four antiphonaries, Switzerland, Einsiedeln Abbey Library, MSS 610–613, compiled before 1314, were written in square Roman notation rather than the normal German script.

[15] The adoption of the Roman rite by the Church has been discussed in *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, ed. by van Dijk.

[16] R. B. Brooke, 'Haymo of Faversham', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vi, 677. The ordinal of Haymo of Faversham has been published in modern edition and will be discussed in Chapter 3.

the somewhat abbreviated version of the Divine Office also enabled the friar to be busy about his principal work of ministering to the local population, especially through preaching and the sacrament of penance.

Unlike Benedictine monasteries, which generally remained independent from one another, the mendicant orders and their liturgies were international virtually from the time of their foundation. Gradually their liturgies became centralized as well, although the process took some time to be completed. Thus Humbert of Romans (*c.* 1194–1277), the fifth master general of the Dominican Order, compiled all the liturgical books for use within the order into a single compendium, known as Humbert's Codex, in 1256.[17] The original manuscript is now Rome, Curia Generalizia dei Domenicani, MS XIV, lit. 1,[18] while the portable copy of this Codex, which the Master General kept for his personal use in correcting the service books of the individual convents he visited, is now London, British Library, Additional MS 23935.[19] Thus while the original codex of Humbert in the Dominican generalate served as the archetype for liturgical observance, the portable copy provided the practical vehicle to guarantee uniformity in the order's liturgy to the smallest detail of text and music.

The late entry of the Carmelites into the mendicant tradition meant that they arrived in the cities long after their more numerous Franciscan and Dominican counterparts and generally in smaller numbers. The Carmelites faced a further disadvantage in not having any particular charmismatic founder whose life story and vision could arouse interest among the faithful to whom they preached. In the absence of such a founder, as we have seen in Chapter 1, they focused on the place of their origins and the contemplative nature of their eremitical life, as well as on the prophet Elijah and the Virgin Mary as sources of inspiration. The Carmelites incorporated into their heritage the exoticism of the east, and their association with the most sacred locale of Christendom, the tomb of the Lord. While the mystique of Elijah the prophet and their early devotion to the Virgin Mary coloured the Carmelites' memories of Mount

[17] C. Lozier, 'Humbert of Romans', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 198–99. The fourteen books comprising Humbert's codex are the ordinary, the antiphonary, lectionary, psalter, collectarium, martyrology, processional, gradual, conventual missal, book of Gospels, books of Epistles, small missal, pulpitary, and the portable breviary: see Raymond W. Bonniwell, O.P., *A History of the Dominican Liturgy, 1215–1945*, 2nd edn (New York: Wagner, 1945), pp. 83–97 for this discussion.

[18] Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy*, p. 94.

[19] Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy*, discusses this portable copy on pp. 94–97.

Carmel, in practical terms the chief expression of this unique heritage lay in their liturgy, known as the rite of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. In the absence of an individual and charismatic founder, the Carmelites of the fourteenth century spent considerable efforts in giving expression to the story of their origins and evolution, but also necessarily turned to the liturgy they inherited from the Latin Kingdom for the self-definition which they otherwise did not have.

We have seen in Chapter 1 that the Carmelites accepted the choral chanting of the Divine Office as part of their process of becoming mendicants. As mendicants their chapel was now generally attached to the priory rather than being situated some distance away from it, as the original configuration on Mount Carmel had established, and they now had to have a bell-tower to mark the established prayer times. The bells called the friars together for the various prayer times of the Divine Office and also informed the local townspeople that these prayers were taking place in case they wanted to attend the services; thus the Carmelite prayer schedule became part of the public prayer of the church rather than the private devotion of the hermits. From a spiritual point of view the contemplative dimension of their life enabled the Carmelites to make a distinctive contribution to the mendicant tradition, now adding to the Franciscan emphasis on poverty and the Dominican emphasis on preaching their own distinctive emphasis on contemplative prayer.

The General Structure of the Medieval Office

The medieval liturgy was a daunting array of services, each one tightly organized and meticulously executed, which took place throughout the day. While all the mendicant orders adopted the somewhat shorter cathedral rather than the monastic liturgy, a great deal of commitment and skill was still necessary to perform it correctly. The Mass had some variation from one rite to another but in general was tightly controlled to guard against any words or actions which might be considered heretical. The Divine Office was somewhat more flexible in its choice of texts, since it was an extended form of communal prayer but not a sacrament.

Liturgical celebrations were carefully organized according to a twofold calendar: the temporal cycle governed the church year according to the two major feasts of Easter and Christmas and the times preceding them, Lent and Advent respectively, and the ordinary Sundays and weeks that made up the rest

of the year. Superimposed upon this calendar was the cycle of feasts for the year, usually beginning around the feast of St Andrew on 30 November and finishing with St Catherine of Alexandria on 25 November. If more than one feast occurred on the same day, one would predominate, with a commemoration or memorial prayer being added for the lesser occasion(s).[20]

The Psalter supplied the texts for the liturgies of the Divine Office, which also included a series of readings. Antiphons, newly composed texts and music, framed each of the psalms for a given office liturgy. Thus for Lauds and Vespers in the mendicant and cathedral usages the core of the liturgy consisted in the chanting of five psalms, each preceded and followed by its antiphon, then followed by a scripture reading at the conclusion of which a responsory was sung to reflect on its content. This was followed at Lauds by the Benedictus canticle, the prayer of Zechariah from Luke 1. 68–79, framed by an antiphon specific to the day. At Vespers the Magnificat canticle, Mary's song of praise in Luke 1. 46–55, was also framed by an antiphon. Prayers of petition followed the canticle, ending with the Pater noster, a concluding prayer and blessing. Compline, usually done in the late evening, was a simpler service whose principal canticle is the Nunc dimittis, the prayer of Simeon in Luke 2. 29–32; as a service Compline was less subject to change according to feast and season than the other office liturgies.

The structure of each of the office liturgies differed between monastic and cathedral practice, with the monastic one generally being the lengthier of the two observances.[21] The most elaborate of the office liturgies was Matins, usually sung during the night. The core of the office consisted in a series of nocturns, usually three on Sundays and feasts, with two or even only one being used for lesser occasions. In the monastic usage for Sundays and major feasts each of the three nocturns had six antiphons and psalms, along with four readings, each one followed by an elaborate chant known as a great responsory, which reflected on the reading it followed. In the cathedral and mendicant practices each nocturn had three antiphons and psalms followed by three readings, each with a great responsory following it.

[20] For a particularly useful study of the medieval liturgy, see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), especially, pp. 1–45 and pp. 287–339.

[21] For a discussion of the structure of the office liturgies, see Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 25–30.

Rankings of feasts determined the level of solemnity, including the number of ordinary or proper chants to be sung for a given occasion. Sunday Mass, for instance, always included the chanting of the *Gloria* and *Credo*, except in Advent and Lent when the *Gloria* was suppressed for penitential purposes. The highest ranking of feasts was generally known as *totum duplex* or 'major doubles', meaning that the *Gloria* and usually the *Credo* was sung at Mass and a maximum amount of solemnity prevailed, usually with proper readings, antiphons, and responsories for all of Matins. The Matins service usually indicated the solemnity of the feast. A *duplex* was slightly less solemn than a *totum duplex* feast; a feast of nine lessons meant that all the nine lessons used for Matins were proper to the feast; a feast of three lessons meant that three of the lessons were proper to the feast, with the remaining six being simply the lessons for the day; a memorial, the lowest level, usually meant that a single prayer in honour of a feast was to be said.[22]

The other office liturgies followed the Matins designations as well: thus, if Matins was a *totum duplex* with all its lessons, antiphons, readings, and responsories proper, or specific to the occasion, Lauds and Vespers had proper chants as well. Feasts of great solemnity such as *totum duplex* ('major doubles') feasts often had celebrations during the following week and on the eighth day or octave. For the Carmelites this was particularly the case for the major feasts of the Virgin Mary.

The major part of the liturgy, both of Mass and of the Divine Office, was sung in plainchant or Gregorian chant,[23] whose complexity varied according to the type of piece being sung. The psalm verses, for instance, followed a relatively simple pattern of notes called a psalm tone, usually in a syllabic style with one note per syllable; presumably the friars had memorized the psalm texts and adapted them to the melodic formula as they sang. The antiphons[24] were somewhat more elaborate, usually intoned by a cantor with either the entire community or a *schola* of the better singers among them finishing the rest of the antiphon. Antiphons were often neumatic, with two or three notes per syllable; the text and music of these antiphons were contained in the antiphonal, which often included rather complex office chants known as prolix or great

[22] For the organization of the liturgy of the hours, see Mary Berry, 'Liturgy of the Hours', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, XI, 88–89.

[23] Ruth Steiner, 'Gregorian chant', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, VII, 697–98.

[24] Michel Huglo, 'Antiphon', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, I, 471–81.

responsories[25] to distinguish them from simpler formulas also used in the office liturgies. These great responsories featured prominently in Matins, but one was also used for Lauds and Vespers. The great responsory consisted of a first part, usually called a respond, followed by a verse; at the end of the verse the second half of the respond, called the *repetendum*, was sung again. The real ending of the piece was therefore the end of the respond, not of the verse. Responsories were normally intoned by a soloist with the community singing the rest of the respond; the soloist normally sang the verse and the community or *schola* then sang the *repetendum*. These chants were the most complex pieces in the office liturgy, and often featured some syllables of the text sung to many notes in what is called a melisma, which has led many scholars to question whether most of the responsories were sung by a choir who rehearsed them rather than by the entire community of friars (or canons, monks, or nuns).

Chant was organized according to a system of modes,[26] assigned according to the last note, known as a final, and the range of the piece. The finals were *d*, *e*, *f* or *g* and the modes were defined as the authentic or plagal version depending on whether the piece used the upper or lower register of available notes. In discussing the music in Chapters 3 and 4 we use *d* to refer to the note above 'middle *c*,' d^1 for the note an octave above, d^{-1} to indicate the note an octave below, and so on. Thus mode 1, also known as Dorian, had a final on *d* with a melodic range from *d* to d^1; mode 2, the plagal version known as Hypodorian, also had its final on *d* but used the lower range of notes, from a^{-1} to *a*. Modes 3 and 4 (Phrygian and Hypophrygian respectively) had their final on *e* and a range from *e* to e^1 for mode 3 and normally from *c* to c^1 for mode 4. Pieces in modes 5 and 6 had their final on *f* and used either the authentic (Lydian) range from *f* to f^1 or the plagal (Hypolydian) range from *c* to c^1; pieces in modes 7 (Mixolydian) and 8 (Hypomixolydian) had their final on *g* and used a range from *g* to g^1 and *d* to d^1 respectively. Thus the difference between mode 1 and 8, both of which had a range of *d* to d^1, was that mode 1 had a final on *d* while mode 8 had a final on *g*. In actual performance the friars presumably sang everything an octave lower, so our treble clef in transcriptions has an '8' at the bottom to indicate the tenor range.

[25] Paul Frederick Cutter and Davitt Moroney, 'Responsory [great responsory of Matins; responsorium prolixum]', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, XV, 759–65: the responsory tones for the verses in the Gregorian tradition are given on p. 762.

[26] Harold S. Powers, 'Mode', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, XII, 376–450.

The verse of the great responsories, like the psalm verse, was formulaic, usually divided into two halves according to the textual division. As a result, each mode featured a particular melody for its verse, adapted to the verse text, with the necessary abbreviations for particularly short texts and extensions, often involving the repetition of part of the formula, for those that were longer. Thus one could determine the mode of the great responsory by first identifying the final, or last note of the respond, then examining the range of notes to see whether the authentic or plagal version was used; by examining the melodic formula of the verse one could confirm the mode of the piece, since the melodic formula or responsory tone, was immediately recognizable for each verse.

As we shall investigate in Chapter 3, some office texts for special feasts were newly composed, with texts that often were based on the life or *vita* of the saint being honoured rather than being taken from the psalms, and with music that was normally different from and more elaborate than the standard chant formulas. Specifically, in most of these cases the music for the verse was also newly composed, rather than being taken from the standard verse formula for the mode, known as the responsory tone.[27] In many of these situations the verse formula also ended on the final of the mode, probably to clarify and reinforce the mode of the piece. The majority of these special offices were done in metre and also sometimes in rhyme and thus are known as metrical or rhymed offices.[28] Thus both poetry and music played a significant role in adding solemnity to a special feast and enhancing its liturgical status.

The Carmelites and the Rite of the Holy Sepulchre

As a lay hermit movement in the Holy Land the Carmelites followed the local rite of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem for their liturgical practices. Christina Dondi has discussed the origins of this rite in her book, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem*, in which she has published the

[27] The responsories and their verses are discussed in detail in James Boyce, O. Carm., 'Rhymed Office Responsory Verses: Style Characteristics and Musical Significance', in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 7th Meeting, Sopron, Hungary, 1995*, ed. by László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 1998), pp. 99-121.

[28] For a discussion of the rhymed office, cf. Andrew Hughes, 'Rhymed office', *New Grove Dictionary of Music & Musicians*, xv, 804.

liturgical contents of eighteen manuscripts stemming from the Latin Kingdom.[29] In this work she specifically refers to the reform of the chapter in 1114 and the impact of this liturgy on the practices of the institutions founded there, specifically the Templars, Hospitallers, and Carmelites.[30] The Holy Sepulchre rite was a French tradition brought to the Holy Land by the crusaders, although scholars are not in agreement over which specific city was its point of origin.[31] The eighteen manuscripts that Dondi examines were produced in Jerusalem, Acre, Caesarea, Tyre, Antioch, and Cyprus, either for the Holy Sepulchre church itself or for related institutions.[32] She points out that the two most complete manuscripts[33] are a sacramentary from the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, datable to 1128–30, now Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 477[34] and an ordinary from the Templars in Jerusalem, datable to 1153–57, now Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. Lat. 659,[35] the same manuscript that Benedict Zimmerman, O.C.D. used in his edition of the ordinal of Sibert de Beka to compare against Carmelite usage, as we shall presently discuss. The Holy Sepulchre church was endowed with twenty secular canons by Godfrey of Bouillon in 1099; after they were reformed around 1114, they lived as canons regular in community.[36] Dondi

[29] Cristina Dondi, *The Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: A Study and a Catalogue of the Manuscript Sources*, Bibliotheca Victorina, 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

[30] Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 24.

[31] Thus Augustine M. Forcadell, O. Carm., 'Ritus Carmelitanarum Antiquae observantiae', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 64 (1950), 5–52 (p. 9) points out the influence of Rouen on the Holy Sepulchre rite, while Kallenberg in *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, pp. 92-100, considered Nevers as a preferable point of origin, based on the saints in the calendar and sanctoral. See Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 26 for this discussion. She also points out that liturgical manuscripts from Bayeux, Évreux, and Paris were probably used in the church of the Holy Sepulchre from the beginning and therefore influenced its liturgical rite (pp. 58–59), while later on some influence of Chartres also prevailed (p. 59).

[32] Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 32.

[33] Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, pp. 31–32.

[34] The contents of this manuscript, which Dondi lists as MS^1 in her study, are described in *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, pp. 146–53; MS^1 is the manuscript against which she compares all the others in her calendar of the saints.

[35] The contents of this manuscript are described in Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, pp. 166–75 and are included as Ms^5 in her comparative table.

[36] Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 38.

points out that the evidence confirms the uniformity of liturgical practices around the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which the Carmelites then adopted as their own.[37] The originally French calendar of feasts progressively underwent expansion by the accretion of feasts of local interest, including such exotic ones as the entrance of Noah into and exit from the ark.[38] Feasts directly related to the Holy Land or to biblical personages also were included in this rite, including the feast of the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (October 6),[39] celebrated as saints in this tradition and also, later on, in the Carmelite liturgy. Most importantly, the focal point for the rite of the Holy Sepulchre was the Lord's tomb itself, resulting from the grouping of several churches into a single monument in the fourth century and established in its present form by the Crusaders in AD 1149.[40] From a theological perspective the tomb is the place where Jesus rose at Easter; this celebration of life implied by the Easter event was observed in the rite of the Holy Sepulchre in a special feast called the Commemoration of the Resurrection, celebrated on the last Sunday of the year. This principal feast of the Holy Sepulchre rite carried over into the Carmelite liturgy where it continued to be celebrated until the Council of Trent.

While the original Carmelite observance was limited to Mass, their progressive incorporation into the mendicant tradition with the corresponding adoption of the choral office meant that the Carmelites also celebrated the rite of the Holy Sepulchre for the Divine Office. The papal legislation which gradually gave the Carmelites the privileges and exemptions of other mendicant orders also progressively enjoined upon them the choral chanting of the Divine Office as practiced in the mendicant tradition.[41] Thus after 1247 the

[37] Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 39.

[38] Aspects of the Holy Sepulchre rite have been discussed in Hugo Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, with liturgical and palaeographical chapters by Francis Wormald (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957).

[39] Dondi points out (*Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 46) that in early liturgical books this office appears among the votive Masses rather than with a proper feast day in the sanctoral cycle and points out that it took some thirty years for liturgical practices to become stabilized. By the time of the emergence of the Carmelites at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century such practices had become quite stable.

[40] Jenab Tutunji, 'Holy Sepulchre, Church of the', *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa*, ed. by Philip Mattar, 2nd edn, 4 vols (New York: Macmillan Reference, 2004), II, 1043–44.

[41] For a discussion of this legislation and its liturgical implications, see Boyce, 'From Rule to Rubric', 262–98.

Carmelites on Mount Carmel came to their chapel at the prescribed prayer times to celebrate the office as well as the Mass. Carmelites who began migrating westward after 1238 presumably brought some service books with them to the west in order to observe in their new locale the liturgical practices they had begun to follow on Mount Carmel itself. It is plausible, although not certain, that these books included service books for the Divine Office which within ten years would be universally mandated as part of their revised rule. Whether or not the Carmelites on Mount Carmel anticipated this transition to the choral office remains unknown. While the Carmelite liturgical tradition of the thirteenth century is in general not carefully defined, two surviving manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris do at least shed some light on the observance by these newly migrated Carmelites. Thus the manuscript Paris, BnF latin 884, a thirteenth-century missal identified as being Carmelite,[42] includes the distinctive Holy Sepulchre and Carmelite feast of the patriarchs and also includes in the calendar references to the Holy Sepulchre feast of Noah's entry into the ark on 20 May (fol. 4), as well as one for his exit from the ark (fol. 3ᵛ) on 27 April; this suggests that for the mid-thirteenth-century Parisian Carmelites the Carmelite rite was indistinguishable from the Holy Sepulchre rite as observed on Mount Carmel itself. Another manuscript, BnF latin 10478, a mid-thirteenth-century noted breviary, was designated by Victor Leroquais[43] as coming from the Temple and dating to after 1232, probably 1240–44; Cristina Dondi maintains that it was made for the Templars at Acre, nonetheless pointing out that Hugo Buchthal had assigned it to Jerusalem, 1229–44, while Jaroslav Folda dates it to *c.* 1240.[44] Victor Leroquais based his conclusions about its provenance on a specific reference to fasts in the temple in a rubric on fol. 15, 'Hec sunt festa que cum ieiuniis et sine

[42] A reference on fol. 1ᵛ of the manuscript states: 'Ce livre est pour les carmes de Paris'. The manuscript is discussed in Victor Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèqes publiques de France*, 4 vols (Paris: [n. pub.], 1924), II, 214–16.

[43] Victor Leroquais, *Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 6 vols (Paris: [n. pub.], 1934), III, 189–92; Léopold Victor Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale sous les numéros 8823-18613, et faisant suite à la série dont le catalogue a été publié en 1744*, 5 vols in 1 (Paris: Auguste Durand et Pédone-Lauriel, 1863–71), p. 4.

[44] This manuscript, HS[14] in Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, is discussed on pp. 88–90 and its contents described on pp. 224–29 of her book. The references to date and provenance are on p. 86.

ieiunio in domo Templi servantur'[45] ('these are the feasts that are observed in the Temple with fasts and without the fast'), suggesting that the breviary came from the canons of the Temple in Jerusalem.[46] A comparison of the order of feasts in the sanctoral cycle and of the order of chants within selected feasts between this noted breviary and later Carmelite manuscripts shows a very high correspondence between the two usages. This comparison led me to postulate[47] that this noted breviary, in the possession of the Carmelites of Piacenza before its entry into the Bibliothèque nationale de France, ought to be considered a thirteenth-century predecessor to the Carmelite rite and a direct link between the parent rite of the Holy Sepulchre and later Carmelite usage.[48]

While the lack of extant manuscripts prohibits us from determining the extent of uniformity within the Carmelite liturgy during most of the thirteenth century, later ordinals suggest that a stable liturgical tradition was a priority for the Carmelites. Thus a late-thirteenth-century ordinal, now Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 194[49] contains virtually the same rubrics for liturgical observance as the later standardized ordinal of Sibert de Beka. While one cannot know for certain which manuscripts influenced Sibert's ordinal, all three manuscripts, namely the BnF Missal, the BnF noted breviary and the Trinity College ordinal, may have exercised some influence upon its composition.

Thirteenth-Century General Chapters and the Liturgy

General Chapters, held at regular intervals, elected the prior general and his council for the intervening years and addressed pertinent issues of the common life, including liturgical practices. Thus while very few Carmelite liturgical service

[45] Leroquais, *Bréviaires manuscrits*, III, 189–90.

[46] Leroquais, *Bréviaires manuscrits*, III, 191.

[47] James Boyce, 'The Search for the Early Carmelite Liturgy: A Templar Manuscript Reassessed', *Revista de Musicología*, 16 (1993), 957–81 (repr. in James Boyce, O. Carm., *Praising God in Carmel: Studies in Carmelite Liturgy* (Washington, D.C.: The Carmelite Institute, 1999), pp. 299–327).

[48] This manuscript also contains an extensive essay written by a Carmelite of the convent of Piacenza named Cyrillus de Gubernatis in 1756 (identified on folio H of the manuscript) that discusses its function as a Templar and Carmelite manuscript. See Boyce, 'The Search for the Early Carmelite Liturgy', p. 299.

[49] This ordinal has been edited by Patrick de Saint-Joseph Rushe, O.C.D., 'Antiquum Ordinis Carmelitarum Ordinale, saec. XIII', *Études Carmélitaines*, 2 (1912–13), 5–251.

books from the thirteenth century have survived to modern times, acts of General Chapters shed at least some light on liturgical practices within the order, by the feasts that they accepted into the tradition and by general prescriptions that they made for liturgical observance. For instance, the General Chapter of London of 1281 accepted the feasts of Sts Catherine of Alexandria, Augustine, and Nicholas of Myra, each with an established proper office, into the liturgy.[50] The feast of the Three Marys entered the rite at the General Chapter of Lyon in 1342,[51] while the feasts of the Presentation of Mary, Our Lady of the Snows, and the Visitation were accepted by the General Chapter of Frankfurt in 1393.[52] Chapter Acts also legislated liturgical practices in a more general way, usually by imposing penalties for the members who were lax in their observance.

The Carmelite liturgy in the thirteenth century had yet to be defined as distinctive, although it was probably in the process of becoming so, in a situation analogous to the formulation of Haymo of Faversham's ordinal for the Franciscans or Humbert of Romans' codex for the Dominicans. At the outset of the Franciscan movement the strict observance of the vow of poverty precluded the friars from writing proper liturgical books. The Franciscans adapted the liturgical books of the cathedral of Assisi, books which actually reflected the liturgy of the papal court, for their own use. The cathedral breviary and missal became obligatory for Franciscan use in their rule of 1230 and hence are known as the 'regula' breviary and missal.[53] On the other hand, St Dominic's intellectual gifts and liturgical experience as a canon no doubt facilitated both the structuring of his new community and the regulation of its liturgical practices. The Carmelites had to refashion the rite of the Holy Sepulchre into a distinctively Carmelite practice progressively without the financial constraints of the Franciscans about ownership of service books and without the liturgical expertise of Dominic and his companions. The Carmelites had first to learn the cathedral office tradition of the Holy Sepulchre, imposed upon them in 1247 (although they may have been gradually learning it before then, especially if they

[50] Cited in Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, p. 23.

[51] Zimmerman, *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana, I*, 141.

[52] *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, ed. by Wessels, I, 109.

[53] Herman Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West: A Study Guide to Liturgical History*, trans. by Gordon W. Lathrop (New York: Pueblo, 1985), especially pp. 215–16; the original version is *Geschiedenis van de Christlijke Eredienst in het Westen en in het Oosten* (Hilversum: Gooi, 1976).

had recruited any priests or other clerics to their community), and then develop it into their own distinctive liturgy.

The thirteenth-century Missal and noted breviary cited above suggest that the Carmelites, in migrating westward from the Holy Land, either took with them liturgical books from the area or made new ones according to the Latin Kingdom tradition to use in their new locale. The established tradition of the scriptorium in the Latin Kingdom[54] made this practice eminently feasible. The question still remains as to how well this standardized liturgy was maintained in the latter part of the thirteenth century by Carmelite communities in distinct European locales once they were separated from each other and from Mount Carmel by considerable geographical distance. General Chapters published the details of their legislation in their Constitutions, which prescribed both specific details of the feasts to observe and provided instructions for the performance of the Divine Office and Mass; it may still have been inevitable that much variation prevailed in the details of liturgical performance from one locale to another. The absence of surviving acts from provincial chapters necessarily limits our understanding of how the legislation of General Chapters was received and implemented on the local level.

The Ordinal of Sibert de Beka

In 1312 the General Chapter of London promulgated an ordinal prepared by the German Carmelite Sibert de Beka for observance throughout the order.[55] Like any medieval ordinal, it prescribed the text incipits for all the chants and prayers to be used for office and Mass throughout the liturgical year.[56] For the mendicant orders, however, the feasts of their ordinals usually reflected their international dimension, unlike the diocesan liturgies which were by definition, more localized. As a result, the mendicant liturgies were more eclectic than the local diocesan

[54] A scriptorium was established in the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the period before 1187 and its work of manuscript production continued in another such scriptorium after 1187. See Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, Appendix II, 'Paleographical Note', p. 137; this discussion of manuscripts and paleography was done by Francis Wormald.

[55] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman.

[56] Kallenberg cites the extant copies of Sibert's ordinal in *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitarum*, pp. 104–18; Zimmerman's edition was made from London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 193, discussed by Kallenberg on pp. 106–08 of his study.

ones in their selection of feasts, and also necessarily featured fewer feasts from any single area than normally did the diocesan liturgies.[57] As latecomers to the mendicant way of life, without any specific founder or other strong personality and also without any proper early saints, the Carmelites' liturgy differed from the usage of the Franciscans and Dominicans; at least at the outset, they celebrated the saints from the Holy Sepulchre rite in the absence of any of their own.

Sibert de Beka proved an ideal candidate to produce such an ordinal. Born between 1260 and 1270, he entered the Carmel of Cologne in 1280[58] and was among the first students from Germany to be sent to the *studium generale* in Paris for studies (1310–12),[59] where he received the doctorate in 1317.[60] Described by the historian Joannes Trisse as outstanding in eloquence, knowledge, conversation, and personal habits ('Hic erudicione, scientia, conversacione et moribus insignis fuit'),[61] he was well respected both for his erudition as a writer and for his administrative abilities. He served as prior of Gelden (1308–10) and later of Cologne (1315–17)[62] before being elected Provincial of Germany in 1317, remaining as Provincial of Lower Germany after the province was split into two in 1317; he was again Provincial of the reunited German province from 1327 until his death.[63] He died on 29 December 1332 in Cologne and is buried in the Carmelite church there.[64] One of the seven extant manuscript copies of his ordinal specifically mentions him as

[57] For instance, the diocese of Florence venerated St Zenobius and St Reparata prominently in their liturgy, saints who were never celebrated by the local Carmelites; cf. Boyce, 'The Carmelite Choirbooks of Florence and the Liturgical Tradition of the Carmelite Order', *Carmelus*, 35 (1988), 67–93 (repr. in *Praising God in Carmel: Studies in Carmelite Liturgy* (Washington, D.C.: The Carmelite Institute, 1999), pp. 115–50).

[58] Bartholomaeo Maria Xiberta, O. Carm., *De scriptoribus scholasticis saeculi XIV ex ordine Carmelitarum*, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 6 (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1931), pp. 142–66.

[59] Smet, *The Carmelties,* I, 30.

[60] Adalbert Deckert, 'Sibert de Beka', *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, <http://www.bautz.de/bbkl/s/sibert_d_b.shtml> [accessed 24 January 2007].

[61] Heinrich Denifle, 'Quellen zur Gelehrtengeschichte des Carmelitenorders im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, 5 (1889), 365–84 (p. 371 note 5).

[62] Deckert, 'Sibert de Beka'.

[63] Smet, *The Carmelties,* I, 33.

[64] Bartholomaeo Maria Xiberta, O. Carm., *De scriptoribus scholasticis*, pp. 142–66.

its author.[65] His breadth of experience and intellectual credentials gave him the necessary background to organize complex liturgies into an accessible system. While Raymond Bonniwell has argued that much of the Carmelite liturgy is based on Dominican practice,[66] the vast majority of its texts descend directly from the Holy Sepulchre liturgy, whose title the Carmelites preserved into their own rite. Sibert's ordinal prescribed the chants, readings, and prayers for each liturgy in such detail that it required very little interpretation by the Carmelites who performed it. Thus, for instance, Sibert indicated that a feast was *totum duplex*, *duplex*, or of nine lessons, but then in addition prescribed each of the chants and readings to be used in its celebration. This was particularly useful for a mendicant community, since even a small and presumably very busy parish community could easily determine which texts to use for any given liturgy.

Sibert's ordinal is extremely thorough in its detail and comprehensive in its scope: its various chapters include rubrics for summoning the friars to choir, with both general norms for officiating in choir and specific details for the performance of each of the canonical hours. The section 'de festivitatibus et translationibus extraordinariis' (on feasts and extraordinary translations)[67] allowed for the chanting of particular *historiae* or saints' lives for special feasts, even when such texts were not normally part of the Carmelite liturgy; this gave considerable latitude for the celebration of feasts or the translation of relics of saints who had not yet become part of the Carmelite rite. This was particularly important for the earliest manuscripts in the Kraków collection, made in Prague by Carmelites who included Bohemian saints proper to their local tradition in these codices, as we shall discuss in Chapter 3. Sibert discusses the conventual Mass and its prayers in minute detail; as the size of individual convents increased and as Carmelites proliferated in cities at a considerable distance from each other, precise instructions for celebrating the conventual Mass became increasingly valuable. Sibert's ordinal includes detailed rubrics for celebrating the Divine Office and Mass for the entire church year.

Sibert's ordinal as text is of paramount importance for regulating every aspect of the Carmelite liturgy and, in the process, for structuring the liturgical

[65] The manuscript in question is Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS γ W 5 17 (48); see Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, pp. 105–06.

[66] William R. Bonniwell, O.P. makes this argument that the Carmelite rite was based on the Dominican one, a position with which I disagree, in *History of the Dominican Liturgy*, pp. 196–99.

[67] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, pp. 58–59.

life of every Carmelite convent. One may presume that for some occasions, such as the dedication of a church, the wishes of the presiding bishop influenced the celebration, but the dedication office liturgies for the day followed a distinctive Carmelite tradition,[68] as did the liturgies for the following week up to and including the octave of the feast. The rubrics for special ceremonies such as the anointing of the sick and the rituals for the dying assume special importance, since they are by definition infrequent and unpredictable; the norms for how to perform them thus had to be stipulated very clearly. Rituals for giving spiritual benefits to special benefactors probably became more frequent once a Carmelite community was firmly established in a particular city and had garnered a list of patrons to the community;[69] they also reflect the Carmelite ties to the local community that were integral to their successful ministry.

The ordinal of Sibert de Beka is the fundamental text of the medieval Carmelite liturgy, one that governed every aspect of the friars' ritual celebrations and liturgical spiritual life throughout the Middle Ages. Sibert's ordinal served as the archetypal liturgical text for the Carmelites, just as Humbert's codex did for the Dominicans and Haymo's ordinal did for the Franciscans. As such it enables us to appreciate the full extent of the Carmelites' liturgical activity, as they expanded into new locales, built and dedicated their churches, gained new secular patrons, received novices to begin training in the order, observed the daily liturgy throughout life, then in their last illness were anointed and finally buried. Emendations or corrections to this fundamental text could be made only with the approval of a General Chapter and once promulgated were, like the ordinal itself, universally binding on the membership.

The ordinal of Sibert was especially important for a mendicant order that had no particular convent with central authority over the other houses. Unlike the monastery or even the cathedral, where the stable community of monks or canons could rely at least to some extent on oral custom for celebrating the liturgy, the mendicants by definition were required to rely on a written text and

[68] For a discussion of the office of the dedication of a church as it applied to the convent in Kraków, see James Boyce, O. Carm., 'Consecrating the House: The Carmelites and the Office of the Dedication of a Church', in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. by Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 129–45.

[69] While the establishment of a confraternity is rather late, one can still presume patronage to the convent by selected individuals from very early in its history. See Spiller and Zań-Ograbek, *Arcybractwo Szkaplerza Świętego przy kościele Karmelitów w Krakowie*.

to exercise uniformity in their liturgical observance, even across international boundaries.[70] As we shall see in Chapter 3, the unusually stable liturgical tradition in the founding convent of Prague may have provided extra latitude for some liturgical digression from the standard Carmelite rite, but even here the ordinal of Sibert remained the single authoritative text and stable liturgical authority. In the absence of oral tradition or lived practice in one convent which became standard for all other houses, such as prevailed at Cîteaux or Cluny for the monks, or at a cathedral for the local diocese, Sibert's ordinal, as the archetypal text, was the single authoritative document defining Carmelite liturgical practice.

The promulgation of Sibert's ordinal marks the beginning of a distinctive Carmelite liturgy, even though it was solidly based on the parent rite of the Holy Sepulchre. The standardized Carmelite liturgy enabled some local Holy Sepulchre devotions to assume international prominence as feasts such as the commemoration of the resurrection or the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for instance, now were celebrated in a uniform fashion in all Carmelite houses. The imposition of Sibert's ordinal for liturgical observance on the entire order marked the continuation of the Holy Sepulchre rite in a distinctively Carmelite manner, no longer relying on isolated manuscripts from the Latin Kingdom or on the memory of how services might have been celebrated, but now officially promulgated as a detailed text for standard observance according to a Carmelite rite and carefully maintained on an ongoing basis through the legislation of General Chapters.

We have discussed in Chapter 1 the importance of these Carmelite General Chapters for the progressive development of the order; we have discussed in this chapter the importance of what little information we have from the surviving acts of thirteenth-century chapters for our understanding of the Carmelite liturgy during this critical period of transition from the observance of the Holy Sepulchre liturgy to a distinctively Carmelite tradition. In fact, General Chapters were virtually the only times when Carmelite delegates could officially

[70] While reliance on oral transmission of chant melodies obviously diminished once a fixed notational system was established, the memory of how chants ought to be remembered may still have had some influence in monastic and cathedral practice. Susan Boynton has discussed this question of oral transmission and memory in chant in 'Orality, Literacy, and the Early Notation of the Office Hymns', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56 (2003), 99–168 and also addresses the question in *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History and the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), especially pp. 16–17.

assemble to discuss matters of critical importance to their shared life and spiritual identity. The promulgation of Sibert de Beka's ordinal by the General Chapter of 1312 in effect made it the supreme liturgical authoritative text for the entire order. Thus text rather than oral custom shaped the Carmelite liturgy and distinguished it from the traditions of monks or canons. Sibert's Carmelite ordinal differed from Humbert's Dominican codex, since it did not include any music or even the complete texts of the individual chants and prayers for each liturgy. It was a single book rather than a compilation of fourteen books as was Humbert's codex. Thus the textual uniformity among the Carmelites deliberately never extended to the music, although the copying of musical manuscripts such as antiphonals or graduals probably did result on occasion in transmitting identical music as well as text from one convent to another, at least within a circumscribed geographical area.

In the second rubric of his ordinal, Sibert offers some general commentary on the manner in which the offices are to be celebrated, before discussing the specific regulations concerning each specific office hour:

> Ante terminationem ultimi signi fratres sint in choro, quilibet secundum gradum et locum suum, et omnia quae in divino officio cantanda vel legenda fuerint secundum usum dominici Sepulcri prout infra suis signatur locis devote prosequantur. Omnes horae canonicae tam diei quam noctis cum nota dicantur. Psalmodia dicatur distincte et perfecte ac cum pausa plena in medio versuum, et hoc praecipue in horis canonicis observetur. Similiter ea quae in divino officio cantanda fuerint modo mediocri, non festinando, nec nimis protrahendo cantentur, neque unus ante alios praevolet, aut post alios trahat, sed simul et uniformiter omnes cantent.[71]
>
> Before the end of the last signal [that is, bell], let the brothers be in choir, each according to his rank and place [that is, seated in order of seniority in the community], and let them devoutly follow all the things that are to be sung or read in the Divine Office according to the use of the Holy Sepulchre as indicated in the places below. Let all the canonical hours both of the day and the night be recited with music. Let the psalmody be said distinctly and perfectly and with a full pause in the middle of the verses, and let this be observed especially in the canonical hours. Similarly let those things which are to be sung in the Divine Office be sung in a moderate manner, not rushing, nor dragging them out, neither should one [singer] race ahead of the others, or drag behind the others, but rather let everyone sing together and in uniformity.

[71] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 4.

The simple reference 'cum nota' indicates that all the antiphons and responsories were to be chanted; this is virtually the only reference to music contained in this instruction but is really all that is necessary. No mention is made of using square Roman notation, probably because by this time it was standard practice in western usage and in the tradition of the two larger mendicant orders, the Franciscans and Dominicans. One can safely presume that by the fourteenth century the transition from heightened neumes or notation on only one or two lines had long since been replaced by the four-line staff. Sibert probably did not mention square Roman notation as a universal standard for Carmelites because by this time it was simply presumed. Since the canons staffing the Holy Sepulchre church were French, the only method of notation used in the Latin Kingdom was the square Roman notation, so that for the German Carmelite Sibert de Beka, the local German script, called *Hufnagelschrift*, was not a viable option.[72]

The use of square Roman notation in all the extant Carmelite liturgical manuscripts points out the importance of this script in providing a standard and instantly accessible system for chant in all Carmelite priories, which directly reflects their status as mendicants. Since the Carmelites as mendicants could be transferred from one convent to another, including across national boundaries, the square Roman notation enabled them to participate immediately in the liturgies of the new convent without the need to learn a new musical script or even to spend a great deal of time practicing the chant with the new community. The script in the manuscripts thus related directly to the Carmelites' participation in the mendicant movement and to their reliance on written text and music rather than on oral tradition or custom.

Later Carmelite Chapters and Liturgical Legislation

After the promulgation of Sibert's ordinal, Carmelite General Chapters continued to meet regularly and to enact liturgical legislation, thus ensuring that the ordinal of 1312 remained a current and a viable instrument for regulating liturgical practice throughout the Middle Ages. From at least as early as 1318 the acts of the General Chapters were preserved in a separate book, known as the

[72] For a discussion of the various types of staff notation in later medieval chant, see Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, especially, pp. 389–92. Some monastic manuscripts, however, are written in square Roman notation, such as the four-volume set of antiphonals, MSS 610–613, of the Einsiedeln Abbey Library, for instance.

Liber Ordinis, which contained all the legislation of the chapters, including their liturgical precepts. This book travelled from place to place along with the General Chapters, so that it could readily be consulted and then emended by new legislation as the need arose.[73] Perhaps because of its literary integrity, Sibert's ordinal was not adapted in later years to reflect these new changes; instead, its wording remained exactly the same throughout the Middle Ages as in its first promulgation in 1312.[74] As a result, the ordinal had to be used alongside this book of chapter constitutions in order to remain current. Chapter acts could increase the solemnity of any established feast: thus, for instance, the General Chapter of Lyons of 1342 added solemn octaves to the feasts of Corpus Christi, All Saints, and St Michael.[75] In addition these chapters could add new feasts to the liturgy, usually replacing older ones of lesser importance, which then were reduced in liturgical rank; specific prescriptions detailed which chants of the older feast would continue to be used and which ones would be eliminated. One of the most famous of these newer feasts is that of the Three Marys, honouring the sisters of the Virgin Mary, accepted by the General Chapter of Lyon in 1342 to supplant the feast of St Urban (25 May), which we shall discuss in Chapter 3.

Legislation of General Chapters subsequent to the promulgation of Sibert's Ordinal often impacted either directly or indirectly upon liturgical practices in the order's convents. The stability which, as we shall presently see, characterized the life of the Prague convent was made possible by the acts of the chapter of Bordeaux of 1318, which ruled that the term of office of a prior provincial ended at the next General Chapter, thus lasting about three years, but nevertheless could be renewed virtually indefinitely at the pleasure of the

[73] See Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 89 for this discussion. The Chapter Acts have been published as *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, ed. by Wessels. Those constitutions enacted by the general chapters between 1327 and 1362 and omitted from the *Liber Ordinis*, are found in London, British Library, Additional MS 16372 and published by Zimmerman, *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana, I*, 115–89.

[74] Thus, for instance, the manuscript Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 121, a French Carmelite ordinal from the year 1468, includes the liturgical prescriptions from the chapters of Montpellier of 1369 (fol. 55^{v}), Frankfurt of 1393 (fol. 56, given as 1394) and Paris of 1456 (fol. 56), concerning the feast of the Three Marys, and refers to the feast in the calendar but contains no rubrics for celebrating the feast itself: see Boyce, 'From Rule to Rubric', for this discussion.

[75] Trisse, 'Capitula generalia', pp. 305–311; the discussion about the chapter of 1342 occurs on pp. 309–310. See also Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 105; Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitarum*, pp. 30–31.

General Chapter.[76] This proviso, allowing for renewal of the prior's term of office, eventually enabled Fr Hartmann of Tachau to remain in office as prior of the Prague convent for approximately seventeen years,[77] a situation which created a well organized liturgical observance in Prague and in turn influenced liturgical practices in the Kraków convent as well.

The Constitutions of 1357

The recently published critical edition of the Constitutions of the chapter of Ferrara of 1357[78] illustrates how such legislation ensured the stability and viability of a distinctively Carmelite liturgy during and beyond the fourteenth century. These Constitutions, initially edited by the Carmelite Jean de Venette,[79] demonstrate that the performance of the Divine Office and Mass was prescribed in great detail and reinforced juridically. Specifically, rubric 3 of these constitutions addressed liturgical practices and regulated them in meticulous detail. Thus it prescribed the ringing of the bell for each of the office hours during the day,[80] required all the brethren, except those unable to do so because of sickness ('praeter infirmos et nimium debiles'), to rise in the middle of the night, go to the chapel, and celebrate Matins with music ('cum nota'), according to the prescriptions of the ordinal[81] and imposed a penalty of *gravis culpa* on those who absented themselves from choir.[82] The five levels of culpability, *levis*,

[76] Trisse, 'Capitula generalia', pp. 307–08, summarized in Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 103.

[77] Fr Hartmann of Tachau's tenure as prior is mentioned in an inscription in one of the Carmelite choir books, now in the Ossiliński library in Wrocław. The insciption page is an unnumbered folio; the verso side begins the antiphonary proper, numbered as page 1 in the revisions of the later eighteenth-century hand. The first part of this inscription has been transcribed in *Inwentarz Rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich we Wrocławiu, III: Rękopisy 11981–13000*, ed. by Amelia Dician and Janina Loret–Heintsch under the direction of Adama Fastnacht, 18 vols (Wrocław: Zadład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1966), III, 24.

[78] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*.

[79] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 111.

[80] In section 3.1, 'De divino officio et modo pulsandi. Rubrica tertia' sections 3.2 and 3.3 deal with the ringing of the bells: Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, pp. 144–45.

[81] In rubric 3.4: Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 145.

[82] In rubric 3.5: Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 145.

media, *gravis*, *gravior* and *gravissima*,[83] were carefully defined, with each one carrying a punishment that corresponded in degree to the infraction committed The first three degrees of punishment were for errors or faults in the liturgy, at least according to later constitutions which reflect earlier practice.[84] Thus *gravis culpa* is the middle level of gravity in general but the highest of the three levels pertaining to the liturgy as, for example, absenting oneself from choir or other spiritual exercise on a regular basis. Rubric 3.6 regulated the singing of compline and the night silence:

> Post Completorium, facto intervallo unius nocturni, fiat pulsatio cum campanella sex vel septem ictibus, ad quam omnes fratres, qui in Completorio conventuali non interfuerint, ubicumque fuerint, infra saepta loca statim dicant Completorium, sub poena gravis culpae. Et omnes incontinenti cum silentio teneant cellas suas.[85]
>
> After compline, after an interval of one nocturn, let the bell be rung six or seven times, at which all the brothers who were not at the conventual compline, wherever they may be within the [convent] enclosure, let them say compline immediately under penalty of *gravis* culpa; all those not observing silence are to remain in their cells.

[83] For a detailed discussion of the various levels of infraction and punishment, see *Constitutiones Fratrum Ordinis B. Dei Genitricis Virg. Mariae de Monte Carmeli, Recognite, & correctae Decreto Capituli Generalis Romae celebrati anno Jubilei 1625 [. . .]* (Rome: Ex Typographia Hermatheneae 1766), pp. 161–82. This section, known as 'Pars Quinta Constitutionum', includes in Chapter 1, 'De culpis, & poenis in communi' (p. 161); Chapter 2, 'De culpa, & poena levi' (pp. 161–62); Chapter 3, 'De culpa, & poena media' (p. 162); Chapter 4, 'De culpa, & poena gravi' (pp. 162–63); Chapter 5, 'De culpa, & poena graviori' (pp. 164–66); Chapter 6, 'De culpa, & poena gravissima' (pp. 166–69); Chapter 7, 'De poena privationis vocis, & loci' (pp. 169–72); Chapter 8, 'De poena depositionis ab Officio' (pp. 172–74); Chapter 9, 'De poena suspensionis gradus, & dignitatis' (p. 175); Chapter 10, 'De poena inhabilitationis ad officia' (p. 176); Chapter 11, 'De sententia excommunicationis' (pp. 176–78); Chapter 12, 'De poena apostatarum' (pp. 178–79); Chapter 13, 'De poena rebellium, usurpantium Majorum suorum officia, & inobedientia' (pp. 179–80); Chapter 14, 'De poena Conspiratorum' (pp. 180–81); Chapter 15, 'De poena Proprietariorum, & Falsariorum' (pp. 181–82); the last chapter (p. 182) confirms these constitutions.

[84] The constitutions from 1766 cited in the footnote above are considerably after the Council of Trent yet undoubtedly reflect general medieval practice. The first three levels of infractions are discussed in *Constitutiones Fratrum Ordinis B. Dei Genitricis Virg. Mariae de Monte Carmeli*, pp. 161–63.

[85] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 145.

Rubric 3.7 was particularly careful to regulate the careful singing of the Divine Office and to insist on the universal authority of the ordinal of Sibert de Beka:

> Item, in aestate ante dormitionem post prandium, et temporibus ieiunii post dormitionem, fiat pulsatio cum campanella modo superius annotato. Audito autem primo sono, parent se fratres, et secundo signo ad ecclesiam celeriter conveniant ad omnes Horas, tam diei quam noctis, et ibi pro posse suo humiliter, et devote, ac uniformiter Divinum Officium compleant, secundum Ecclesiae Dominici Sepulchri Hierosolymitani modum. Nullus in choro aliud vel aliter cantare praesumat, quam quod communis usus Ordinis approbat et elegit. Sed neque motetos neque upaturam vel aliquem cantum magis ad lasciviam quam ad devotionem prevocantem, aliquis decantare audeat, sub poena gravioris culpae per unam diem transgressoribus infligenda. Et breviter omnia tam in modo pulsandi quam chorum officiandi et Divinum Officium faciendi observentur, quae secundum Ordinale correctum et per plura capitula generalia nostri Ordinis confirmatum clarius denotantur. Quod quidem Ordinale, sic correctum praecipimus per totum nostrum Ordinem inviolabiter observari.[86]
>
> Likewise, in summer before retiring to sleep after the meal, and in times of fasting after retiring, let there be ringing of the bell in the manner described above. However, upon hearing the first sound [of the bell], let the brothers ready themselves, and at the second signal let them quickly come together in church at all the Hours, of the day as well as of the night, and may they there fulfill the Divine Office to the best of their ability, humbly, devoutly, and uniformly, according to the rite of the church of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. Let no one in choir presume to sing anything or in any way except that which has been approved and chosen for the common use of the order. But let no one dare to sing motets nor a hocket[87] nor any kind of song which leads to decadence more than it does to devotion, under pain of a more serious fault (*gravioris culpae*)[88] punishable by imposing one day [of incarceration] on the offenders. And, in brief, let all things be observed, both in the manner of summoning to choir, of officiating in choir, and of performing the Divine Offfice, which have been clearly stipulated according to the

[86] Robinson, *The Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, pp. 145–46.

[87] Reinhard Strohm suggested that the word *upaturam* probably meant hockets in his review of Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara 1400-1505: The Creation of a Musical Centre in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984) in *Music & Letters*, 67 (1986), 283–86; the specific reference occurs on p. 283. The term 'hocket' refers to a 'dovetailing of sounds and silences by means of the staggered arrangement of rests between two or more voices', creating an effect of several voices inserting a note one after the other: see Ernest H. Sanders, 'Hocket', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, VIII, 605–08.

[88] This level of *gravior culpa* is higher than the normal one imposed for liturgical infractions.

> corrected Ordinal and confirmed by several general chapters of our order. We enjoin that this Ordinal, thus corrected, be observed inviolate through the whole of our order.

Thus the regulations of the ordinal were strictly enforced throughout all the convents of the order, with infractions being punished by specific penances. The references to not singing motets or any other inappropriate material uphold the integrity of the Carmelite chant and also suggest that the regulation had in fact been broken, since otherwise there would be no need to establish the rule. References to pleasurable rather than devotional music also probably indicate that newer liturgical or secular trends had a tendency to enter the Carmelite liturgy unless firmly resisted by liturgical authority.

Rubric 3.21[89] forbade celebrating an office liturgy for feasts not contained in the Carmelite calendar. This stipulation protected the integrity of the distinctive Carmelite liturgy by not allowing other feasts, presumably from the local diocesan liturgies where the Carmelites were well established, to enter it. Thus in Florence, for instance, the local patrons Sts Zenobius and Reparata, both celebrated with rhymed offices in the Florentine liturgy,[90] were never observed by the Carmelites. Similarly in Mainz, the diocese observed feasts for Sts Kilian, Afra,[91] and other saints who were never celebrated by the local Carmelites.

[89] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 149.

[90] The rhymed offices for St Zenobius and for St Reparata are incomplete in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Edili MS 148, a fifteenth-century antiphonal; chants for St. Zenobius begin on fol. 58^{v} while chants for St Reparata begin on fol. 80^{v} of the manuscript. Chants for these two feasts are listed in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, MS Edili 119, a fifteenth-century ordinal for Florence, where chants for the feast of St Zenobius are listed on fol. 151^{v}, for his translation on fol. 131^{v}, and for St Reparata on fol. 186^{v}. These manuscripts are discussed in Boyce, 'Carmelite Choirbooks of Florence', pp. 67–93.

[91] The rhymed office for St Kilian and his companions occurs in Aschaffenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS Perg. 1, a fifteenth-century antiphonal for Mainz usage, beginning on fol. 112^{v}; the office for St Afra begins on fol. 139 of the same manuscript; another fifteenth-century Mainz diocesan antiphonal, Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Mp. th. F. 170, contains the office of St Afra beginning on fol. 312: James Boyce, O. Carm., 'Die mainzer Karmeliterchorbücher und die liturgische Tradition des Karmeliterordens', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 39 (1987), 267–303 (trans. as 'The Carmelite Choirbooks of Mainz and the Liturgical Tradition of the Carmelite Order', in James Boyce, O. Carm., *Praising God in Carmel, Studies in Carmelite Liturgy* (Washington, D.C.: The Carmelite Institute, 1999), pp. 71–114).

The Constitutions of 1357 and the Ordinal of Sibert de Beka

The prescriptions of the Chapter of Ferrara concerning the ordinal of Sibert de Beka remind us that its universal observance was still a gradual process after its initial promulgation in 1312. Thus [prior] provincials, under pain of being deposed from office ('sub poena depositionis ab officiis suis'), were to ensure that the ordinal of Sibert was corrected and copied for distribution to all the houses of the province.[92] The provincial of England in particular was singled out for censure, as the ordinal of Sibert was only minimally followed in his province; the chapter maintained that he could be absolved only by the prior general if he remained negligent in not adhering to the prescriptions of Sibert's ordinal.[93] Not following Sibert's ordinal would surely be due to a preference for an alternate model for liturgy rather than simple negligence. If the English Carmelites preferred an earlier ordinal,[94] now in the library of Trinity College in Dublin, over Sibert's, the differences were minimal. This lack of conformity is rather ironic when one considers that Sibert's ordinal was itself promulgated by the General Chapter of London in 1312. In addition, provincials were ordered to compel the priors to maintain a staff of scribes who could write liturgical books where they were lacking so that the liturgy might uniformly be observed in accordance with Sibert's ordinal throughout the order. Convents which had models were to loan them in sections to those who did not.[95] Copying books in sections or *pecia* was a common practice in the dissemination of medieval books, but also applied to liturgical choir books. It also had the practical effect of keeping the bulk of a choir book available for general use while an individual section was out on loan, and allowed the new books to be built up gradually as the needs arose.[96] Priors were to correct or have corrected the liturgical books in their convent under penalty of the more serious fault (*gravior culpa*) of ten days, presumably of incarceration,[97] a particularly embarrassing situation for the prior of a convent.

[92] In rubric 3:23: Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 149.

[93] In rubric 3.25: Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 149.

[94] This ordinal, Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 194, has been edited by Rushe, 'Antiquum Ordinis Carmelitarum Ordinale', pp. 5–251.

[95] In rubric 3.26: Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 149.

[96] B. L. Ullman, 'Pecia', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, 53–54.

[97] In rubric 3.27: Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 150.

In addition to regulating the ordinal and the liturgical books, the chapter also addressed the issue of liturgical performance. Thus the office was to be carefully regulated according to the ordinal of Sibert, with proper decorum being observed, including the proper bowing when entering or exiting the church and when passing in front of the main altar, where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved. The friars were to bow their head at the mention of the name of Jesus Christ and of the Virgin Mary.[98] Priors and subpriors, under penalty of deposition from office, were to ensure the correct performance of the office, including the clear enunciation of the text in both singing and reading, and the proper pause in the middle of each psalm verse, not beginning a new verse until the previous one had been completed.[99] Furthermore no friar was to leave the office liturgy before it was over, unless with the express permission of the presider, for any reasonable reason of urgency, the reasonableness of which was to be adjudicated by the presider.[100] In all the convents a community roster was to be set up so that the individual brothers might know the specific [liturgical] roles to which each was assigned. Whoever was negligent in his assigned duties was to receive the discipline at the next chapter after Prime or after Terce, while repeat offenders were to be punished with the penalty of *gravis culpae*. Liturgical decorum extended to the correct wearing of the habit:

> Item districte prohibemus ne frater aliquis sine scapulari capuciato, et debito modo formato et figurato, Divina audeat celebrare, quod si quis sine habitu praedicto celebravit, volumus ipsum tamquam excommunicatum ab omnibus evitari, cum secundum iura nullus religiosus habitum suum debeat temerarie dimittere neque possit.
>
> Likewise, we strictly forbid any brother to dare to celebrate the Divine mysteries (Divina) without the scapular and capuce, and arranged in the prescribed way. If someone should celebrate without the prescribed habit, we want him to be avoided by everyone just as if he were excommunicated, since according to [canon] law no religious should arrogantly relinquish his habit nor can he do so.[101]

The Carmelite habit was well established by this time as consisting of a brown tunic, with the brown scapular over it and the brown capuce, the hooded top part, over the scapular and tunic. For solemn occasions, including all of

[98] In rubric 3:28: Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 150.

[99] In rubric 3:30: Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 150.

[100] In rubric 3:31: Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 150.

[101] In rubric 3.37: Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 151.

Eastertide, a white cloak with a white capuce over it was worn over the other three garments. We have seen in Chapter 1 the importance of the adoption of the *cappa blanca* for the Carmelites' acceptance as an order in western Europe; its use for celebrating the office and Mass gave the proper solemnity to the celebration, besides reinforcing a sense of Carmelite identity in the participants. Thus for someone to attend the office or Mass without the proper attire correctly worn was tantamount to rejecting or at least not appreciating the corporate identity which the Carmelite habit represented and therefore required that the offender be treated accordingly by the rest of the community.

These constitutions thus illustrate how the uniform liturgy was enforced throughout the order. The strict hierarchical system of superiors placed the prior general and/or the General Chapter at the top of the structure, ensuring that the priors provincial, the heads of provinces, enforced the legislation on the level of a province. The provincials in turn regulated the activity in each of the convents under their jurisdiction while the prior or his delegate, the subprior, assured that the chapter legislation was carried out on the local level of the individual convent. Such a hierarchical system ensured the uniform observance of the liturgy throughout the Carmelite order, duly enforced by penances for every level of infraction in performance.

The legislation clearly indicates the primacy of the ordinal of Sibert de Beka as the single instrument for ensuring liturgical uniformity in all the houses of the Order. The ordinal thus emerges as an archetypal text for the Carmelites, along with the Rule and constitutions, which thus become the three defining documents for their way of life. While much of the legislation of Chapter 3 of these constitutions deals with punishing infractions of the liturgy, it also indicates how much its correct celebration was valued by the order. The constitutions of 1357 would not enforce the use of this ordinal so strongly if they did not consider it essential to the spiritual life of the Carmelites and if they did not value the liturgy as essential to their identity as Carmelite religious. Thus, if the *rubrica prima* and its elucidation and elaboration by medieval Carmelite writers was paramount for establishing a sense of corporate Carmelite history, enabling the members of the order to define for themselves and others their origins and purpose, and if the white cloak, adopted in 1287, was of great value for establishing Carmelite credibility as a religious order, the Carmelite ordinal of Sibert de Beka and the liturgical practices it meticulously prescribed through specific and detailed legislation, duly reinforced through the constitutions of general chapters and by punishment for infractions, ensured that Carmelite daily liturgical practices developed in all the friars a sense of

corporate identity. This is especially important since the Carmelites spent a large amount of time each day performing the liturgy.

The Liturgical Year and the Life of the Carmelite

Not surprisingly, religious practices such as the reception of communion by the Carmelite brothers were also carefully regulated. The friars could receive communion twelve times a year, on 1) the first Sunday in Advent, 2) Christmas, 3) the feast of the Purification (2 February), 4) the first Sunday of Lent, 5) Holy Thursday, on which day they were to receive from the main celebrant, 6) the Annunciation (25 March), 7) in Eastertide ('Paschate'), 8) Pentecost, 9) on the feast of Corpus Christi, 10) the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (15 August), 11) the Nativity of Mary (8 September), and 12) All Saints (1 November).[102] Significantly, four of these twelve days were feasts of Mary, a further indication of the important place of Marian devotion within the Carmelite structures. The ordained priests, on the other hand, were required to say Mass and receive communion every day, under penalty of *gravis culpa* of one day (presumably of confinement to his cell or incarceration) for failing to do so.[103] The reception of Holy Communion was, of course, associated with confession. Peter O'Dwyer mentions that the professed members and novices in the community were to make their confession either to the prior or to a delegate approved by him, and adds that everyone was to confess twice a week.[104] Thus since the frequency of confession was much greater than that of the reception of communion, there was

[102] Rubric 10:2: 'Communio fratrum fiat duodecies in anno: prima in dominica prima Adventus Domini, secunda in Natale Domini, tertia in Purificatione Beatae Mariae, quarta in prima dominica Quadragesimae, quinta in Cena Domini qua die volumus omnes fratres de manu praelati communicari, sexta in Annuntiatione Beatae Mariae, septima in Paschate, octava in Pentecoste, nona in festo Corporis Christi, decima in Assumptione Beatae Mariae, undecima in Nativitate eiusdem, duodecima in festo Omnium Sanctorum'. Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 172; this regulation of twelve times per year obviously supercedes the seven quoted by Peter O'Dwyer, O. Carm., *The Irish Carmelites (of the Ancient Observance)* (Dublin: Carmelite Publications, 1988), p. 8.

[103] In rubric 10:7: 'Quisque autem sacerdos ultra unam diem celebrare vel communicare omisserit, poenae gravis culpae unius diei subiacebit'. Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 173.

[104] O'Dwyer, *Irish Carmelites*, p. 8.

little problem assuring that those who received communion would be in the proper spiritual disposition to do so.

The cycle of liturgical seasons and feasts regulated the daily life of the Carmelites, including fasting at the appropriate times and personal grooming, for instance. Thus, for example, Chapter 4 of the Constitutions of 1347 gives the regulations for fasting, particularly in the Lenten season: the Carmelites were required to fast from the first Sunday of Lent (*Dominica Quadragesima*) until Easter (although the fast presumably began on Ash Wednesday), excepting Sundays; they were also to fast on the vigils of Christmas, the Ascension, Pentecost, All Saints, the Annunciation, Assumption, Purification of the Blessed Virgin, and (on the vigils) of all the apostles except St John the Evangelist and Sts Philip and James, on whose vigils the obligation was lifted.[105] The liturgical year even regulated the seventeen prescribed shaving days for the friars, which also coincided with major feasts.[106] Thus the liturgical calendar ordered even as mundane an event as the personal hygiene associated with shaving.

The Role of the Choir Book in the Carmelite Convent

If the ordinal of Sibert de Beka can be considered as the primary Carmelite liturgical text, the choir book is the practical extension of that text, making it part of the lived experience of each Carmelite convent. The choir books illustrate how the primary document of Sibert's ordinal was translated into everyday life in different locales. Studies on the choir books of Mainz, dating to the 1430s[107] and of Florence, dating to the end of the fourteenth century,[108] as well as the earliest

[105] In rubric 4.2: 'Statuimus ut fratres nostri ieiunent in cibis quadragesimalibus a Dominica Quadragesimae usque ad Diem Resurrectionis, diebus Dominicis exceptis, in quibus bis comedent. Ieiunent etiam in vigiliis Nativitatis Domini, Ascensionis, Pentecostes, Omnium Sanctorum, Annuntiationis, Assumptionis, Purificationis Beatae Mariae, et omnium apostolorum, praeter Sancti Ioannis Evangelistae et Sanctorum Philippi et Iacobi in quibus ieiunare non tenebuntur'. Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 152.

[106] O'Dwyer, *Irish Carmelites*, p. 8.

[107] Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, pp. 240–41, 256–59; Boyce, 'Die Mainzer Karmeliterchorbücher', 267-303.

[108] Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, pp. 230–36, 247–56; Boyce, 'The Carmelite Choirbooks of Florencer', 67-93.

two surviving ones, from Pisa, dating to the first half of the fourteenth century,[109] indicate that for the musical portions of the office the ordinal of Sibert was followed with meticulous care. Unlike the Dominicans who legislated uniform music as well as text, Carmelite manuscripts, especially between Florence and Mainz, often have different music accompanying the same text. This is particularly the case with rhymed offices, as we will discuss in detail in Chapter 3. This lack of standardized melodies and, occasionally, texts distinguishes the Carmelite choir books from their Dominican counterparts and is in some ways the most interesting aspect of the Carmelites' contribution to the later medieval liturgy.

Carmelite choir books are not only extensions of the primary text, the ordinal of Sibert de Beka, but in the case of newly admitted feasts they further develop this primary text. Considering the large amount of money and labour expended in the production of liturgical manuscripts, the remaining sets of codices from Pisa, Mainz, and Florence are but a small remnant of what once must have been an enormous number of choir books serving the vast network of Carmelite convents throughout medieval Europe. These choir books give us at least some idea of the medieval Carmelite liturgy but are necessarily woefully incomplete to understand it totally.

Modern Sources for Studying Liturgical Manuscripts

The publication of key texts by Carmelite scholars such as Benedict Zimmerman's edition of the ordinal of Sibert de Beka, Adrianus Staring's compilation of important medieval texts, Paul Robinson's critical edition of the constitutions of the chapter of Ferrara of 1357, Paschalis Kallenberg's detailed study of the extant medieval Carmelite manuscripts, Joachim Smet's history of the order, Carlo Cicconetti's study of the rule, Hugh Clarke and Bede Edwards' study of the rule, and many other works that we have frequently cited thus far are crucial to interpreting the meaning of the Carmelite choir books of Kraków. Equally important for this study are the investigations of chant sources that have in recent years become indispensable reference works for studying the medieval

[109] Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, pp. 228–30, 244–47; James Boyce, O. Carm., 'Two Antiphonals of Pisa: Their Place in the Carmelite Liturgy', *Manuscripta*, 31 (1987), 147–65 (repr. in James Boyce, O. Carm., *Praising God in Carmel: Studies in Carmelite Liturgy* (Washington, D.C.: The Carmelite Institute, 1999), pp. 151–79).

office; (1) Renato-Joanne Hesbert's *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, a six-volume work that published the texts of twelve antiphonals, six from the Roman cursus and six from the monastic cursus, including the complete texts for the chants by genre, that is, antiphon, responsory, and so on; [110] 2) the facsimile edition of the Salisbury Antiphoner published by Walter Howard Frere[111] made the chants themselves available to scholars; 3) the CANTUS indices of chant manuscripts, which began at Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. and are now at the University of Western Ontario,[112] can be searched electronically, proving to be an invaluable tool for determining particular sources that contain a chant in a Carmelite or other manuscript, including the Kraków manuscripts to be discussed in Chapter 3; 4) an index of manuscripts emanating from Central Europe, CAO-ECE, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii, Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae*, has also been published electronically under the direction of Prof. László Dobszay;[113] 5) the collection of liturgical texts compiled in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* by Clemens Blume and Guido Maria Dreves is an invaluable resource for the study of the medieval liturgy,[114] now made available by Prof. Andrew Hughes of the University of Toronto in database format under the title *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*,[115] and accessible electronically.[116] These modern sources for studying the liturgy are invaluable aides for investigating the Kraków Carmelite choir books.

[110] René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, 6 vols (Rome: Herder, 1963–79).

[111] *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, ed. by Walter Howard Frere, 4 vols (London: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, 1901–24; repr. Farnborough: Gregg, 1966).

[112] The history of the CANTUS project is clearly explained at their website, <http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/history.html> [accessed 24 January 2007].

[113] <http://www.zti.hu/earlymusic/Cao-Ece/about_cao.htm> [accessed 24 January 2007].

[114] *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi,* ed. by C. Blume and G. M. Dreves, 55 vols (Leipzig 1886–1922; repr. Frankfurt a.M., 1961; indices 1978).

[115] Andrew Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices: Resources for Electronic Research, I: Texts*, Subsidia mediaevalia, 23 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994) and Andrew Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices: Resources for Electronic Research, II: Sources and Chants*, Subsidia mediaevalia, 24 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1996).

[116] The website for this is <http://hlub.dyndns.org/projekten/webplek/CANTUS/HTML/CANTUS_index.htm> [accessed 18 August 2008].

Conclusions

In Chapter 1 we discussed the status of the Carmelites as mendicants by the time the friars first came from Prague to Kraków in 1397. In this chapter we have discussed the parallel development of the Carmelite liturgy, firmly established by the promulgation of the ordinal of Sibert de Beka in 1312.

Chapter 2 therefore has shown that the Carmelite liturgy became both standardized and distinctive throughout the thirteenth century, culminating in the promulgation of the ordinal of Sibert de Beka in 1312. Thus, just as the thirteenth-century Carmelite self-understanding was formed by Carmelite writers who gave literary expression to the order's relationship to Elijah and the Virgin Mary and, just as their distinctive white cloak, adopted in 1287, reinforced their identity visually, so too their liturgy gave the Carmelites a sense both of their ties to the rite of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem and of their uniqueness among western liturgical traditions. Thus the Carmelite liturgy contributed to the Carmelites' self-understanding, by reinforcing in their daily prayer life both the literary stories and the religious habit that distinguished them from other western religious orders.

The collection of manuscripts to be discussed in Chapter 3 is important for numerous reasons: codices 1, 2, and Wrocław, Biblioteka Narodowa 'Ossolineum,' MS 12025/IV, originally brought from Prague for the foundation of the Kraków convent, are valuable examples of Bohemian liturgical manuscripts. Although it is ironic that these Kraków manuscripts have survived while those from the founding convent of Prague have not, this is probably due to the large-scale destruction of religious objects, including liturgical manuscripts, during the Hussite wars in Bohemia.[117] As a result, these Kraków codices are valuable for preserving distinctive liturgies from the Prague Carmelite convent as well as for understanding liturgical practices among the early Kraków Carmelites. In addition, these Kraków codices provide an alternate set of choir books to compare against existing medieval ones from Pisa, Florence, and Mainz. Although Tridentine manuscripts from Roman convents (San Martino ai Monti and Santa Maria in Traspontina, the latter set now housed in the Centro Internazionale Sant'Alberto), from Caudete and Onda in Spain, and from other European convents inform us about Carmelite liturgical practice in the eighteenth century, the Kraków choir books are unique since

[117] For a discussion of the Hussites in Bohemia, see P. De Vooght, 'Hussites', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 273–75.

they include both medieval and Tridentine manuscripts. This collection enables us to appreciate not just the medieval and Tridentine liturgical practices, but to understand the relationship between the two, especially how Tridentine manuscripts preserved some medieval practices while eliminating others, and how earlier books were deliberately refashioned to be used in a later period alongside newly composed manuscripts. The later manuscripts in the Kraków collection were part of a deliberate campaign to revise and update the liturgy according to the directives of the Council of Trent, carried out in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; at this time some of the original choir books were revised and updated to enable them to continue to be used in Kraków during the early modern period. This Kraków collection, unlike the others previously examined, gives us a unique opportunity to appreciate the liturgical life of the convent from the very beginning of its foundation well into the eighteenth century. The detailed contents of the medieval choir books will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3

The Medieval Choir Books

Having discussed the development of the Carmelite order up to the time of the Carmelites' arrival in Kraków and the relationship of their liturgy to their mendicant activity in the city in Chapter 1, and having discussed the important role of liturgy in Carmelite mendicant life as expressed in their official documentation in Chapter 2, we now discuss the liturgical manuscripts themselves. Part I will focus on the manuscripts as a collection and piece together internal information from the codices and from other convent documentation which illumines our understanding of these manuscripts and their compilation. Part II will discuss the organization of the manuscripts according to the temporal cycle, special celebrations such as the dedication of a church and the feast of the commemoration of the resurrection, the commons of the saints and the sanctoral cycle, then briefly compare their contents against those of the rite of the Holy Sepulchre, the ordinal of Sibert de Beka, Franciscan, Dominican, and Kraków diocesan liturgical traditions. Part III will discuss the details of specific feasts in these manuscripts which define these codices and the liturgy itself as distinctively Carmelite. Part IV will discuss the musical characteristics of some of these pieces and in some cases illustrate interrelationships among them.

Part I: General Overview of the Manuscripts

The six medieval liturgical manuscripts, all antiphonaries, which shape our understanding of the medieval Kraków Carmelite liturgy are part of a larger collection of twenty-six choir books dating from 1397 through the nineteenth century. An additional eleven manuscripts from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries and a further nineteen printed books, either processionals or copies of a *directorium chori* used for training the friars in the practice of

chant, enhance our understanding of liturgical life in the Kraków convent. The contents of all these manuscripts are inventoried in detail in the Appendix.

Table 1 summarizes this collection of twenty-five choir books in Kraków, an antiphonal originally from this collection which is now in Wrocław, an additional eleven manuscripts copied by individual friars, and nineteen printed liturgical books in the Kraków convent. Jerzy Gołos organized the manuscripts which have remained in the Kraków convent by order of size from largest to smallest, irrespective of their date of writing.[1] Thus he lists the Gradual of 1644, the largest and most ornate codex in the collection, as number 1 in his system, even though five other codices antedate it. I have taken a different approach and listed these choir books in chronological order[2] from earliest to latest, with the earliest being the two of the three choir books brought to Kraków from Prague in 1397 which still remain in the collection. Thus Table 1 organizes the manuscripts chronologically with manuscript numbers, with Gołos' numbering indicated by Rkp. for 'Rękopis', the Polish word for 'manuscript'. Gołos uses the abbreviation 'Perg'. for 'Pergament' to distinguish the parchment manuscripts from those written on paper ('pap'. for the Polish word, 'papier').

[1] Jerzy Gołos, 'Muzykalia Biblioteki Klasztoru Karmelitów na Piasku w Krakowie', *Muzyka*, 11 (1966), 86–97. He lists the contents of twenty-eight manuscripts, including a nineteenth-century Cantionale for Augustinians and a seventeenth-century manuscript for a convent of nuns; my inventory is based on the manuscripts currently in the sacristy or library of the convent.

[2] James Boyce, O. Carm., 'The Carmelite Choirbooks of Krakow: Carmelite Liturgy before and after the Council of Trent', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 45 (2004), 17–34.

Table 1: The Carmelite Codices of Kraków

Kraków, Carmelite convent

Codex No.	Description	Handlist
Codex 1	Antiphonary 1397	Rkp. perg. 12
Codex 2	Antiphonary 1397	Rkp. perg. 14
Codex 3	Antiphonary 1468	Rkp. perg. 15
Codex 4	Antiphonary 15th c.	Rkp. perg. 20
Codex 5	Antiphonary 15th c.	Rkp. perg. 13
Codex 6	Gradual 1644	Rkp. perg. 1
Codex 7	Kyriale + Graduale 17–18th c.	Rkp. perg. 5
Codex 8	Processional 1720	Rkp. perg. 23
Codex 9	Kyriale 1727	Rkp.perg-pap 21
Codex 10	Kyriale & Graduale. 1738	Rkp. pap. 18
Codex 11	Antiphonary 1742	Rkp. perg. 6
Codex 12	Antiphonary 1743	Rkp. perg. 10
Codex 13	Antiphonary 1744	Rkp. perg. 3
Codex 14	Antiphonary 1744	Rkp. perg. 9
Codex 15	Kyriale & Graduale 1745	Rkp. perg. 4
Codex 16	Antiphonary 1745	Rkp. perg. 2
Codex 17	Psalter 1747	Rkp. perg. 25
Codex 18	Gradual 1747	Rkp. perg. 7
Codex 19	Antiphonary 19th c.	Rkp. perg. 8
Codex 20	Ave Stella Matutina	Rkp. perg-pap 16
Codex 21	Antiphonary 18–19th c.	Rkp. pap. 22
Codex 22	Hymnary & Kyriale	Rkp. perg. 11
Codex 23	Kyriale	Rkp. pap. 19
Codex 24	Kyriale	Rkp. pap. 17
Codex 25	Antiphonary 19th c.	Rkp. pap. 24
Codex 26	Tractatus de Accentis, 18th c.	Rkp. pap. 26
Codex 27	Tractatus de Accentis, 17th c.	Rkp. pap. 27
Codex 28	Tractatus de Accentis, 18th c.	Rkp. pap. 28
Codex 29	Prayer book, 19th c.	Rkp. pap. 29
Codex 30	Instructio Brevis, 17th c.	Rkp. pap. 30
Codex 31	Cantionale, 18th c.	Rkp. pap. 31
Codex 32	Tractatus de choralis + Directorium chori, 1739	Rkp. pap. 32

Codex No.	Description	Handlist
Codex 34	Lamentations of Jeremiah (1671)	Rkp. pap. 34
Codex 35	Concentus Psalmodiae Choralis, 1766	Rkp. pap. 35
Codex 36	Devotional book + part-book for singing, 19th c.	Rkp. pap. 36

Wrocław, Ossoliński Library

Ms. 12025/IV	Antiphonary, 1397

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, Inventory of Portable Books

Book A	Carmelite Processional of 1666	7 copies
Book B	Carmelite Processional of 1711	3 copies
Book C	Carmelite Processional of 1759	1 copy
Book C1	Carmelite Processional of 1759 with some additional material	1 copy
Book D	Carmelite Directorium Chori of 1768	1 copy
Book E	Carmelite Directorium Chori of Fr Archangelus Paulius, O. Carm. (Florentine Carmelite - early 17th c.)	1 copy
Book E1	Carmelite Directorium Chori of Fr Archangelus Paulius, O. Carm. with some additional material	1 copy
Book F	Carmelite Directorium Chori of 1755 promulgated by Fr Joseph Albertus Ximenez, General	1 copy
Book G	Carmelite Officium Defunctorum and Processional	1 copy
Book H	Rudimenta Musicae Choralis for the Diocese of Kraków, 1820	1 copy
Book J	Carmelite Cantionali Officium Defunctorum, 1768	1 copy

While the additional codices, MSS 26–36, are not central to our study, they provide the liturgical context to understand how these choir books were used. Thus MS 29, a small personal devotional book written in the hand of a nineteenth-century friar, contains formulas for singing the doxology, prefaces, and other Mass chants for some of the more solemn feasts as prescribed by the Council of Trent. This indicates that training in the singing of chant for Mass and the Divine Office and copying out text and music for such a purpose, probably done during the novitiate year, was an important vehicle for liturgical instruction in the priory. If such training in singing and copying chant was still being done in the Kraków convent in the nineteenth century, this surely means that the practice was firmly established in the late Middle Ages. The *Directorium Chori*, first issued for the Carmelites at the beginning of the seventeenth century,[3] ensured uniformity in chant within the order after the Council of Trent. Similarly the printed books, mostly personal portable processionals, serve as reminders of spiritual practices which were an important part of life in the Kraków Carmelite convent, especially during Lent; these printed books are particularly important since medieval processionals from this or any other Carmelite convent have in general not survived to modern times.[4]

The first six codices from the collection are all antiphonaries which antedate the Council of Trent and hence reflect medieval practise. Of these manuscripts, codices 1 and 2 from Kraków and a third manuscript, now in the Biblioteka Narodowa 'Ossolineum' of Wrocław, MS [rkps] 12025/IV,[5] are the oldest, written in Prague in 1397 and brought to Kraków for the foundation of the

[3] Probably the first such *Directorium Chori* for the Carmelites was the one compiled by Fr Archangelus Paoli and issued in 1614: *Directorium Chori una cum processionali, iuxta Ordinem, ac Ritum Fratrum B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmeli, continens ea, quae ad sacra officia cantu persolvenda pertinent. Collectum, et in commodam formam redactum per Patrem F. Archangelum Paulium Florentinum eiusdem ordinis, ac Reverendissimi Patris Magistri Sebastiani Fantoni Generalis Carmelitarum, iussu editum* (Naples: Ex Typographia Ioannis Iacobi Carlini, 1614). Archangelus Paoli (d. 1635) was Prior and novice master in the Carmine of Florence: cf. Smet, *Carmelites*, III:2, 420. See James Boyce, O. Carm., 'Carmel in Transition: A Seventeenth-Century Florentine Carmelite Supplement', *Manuscripta*, 39 (1995), 56–69 for a discussion of Fr Archangelus Paoli.

[4] Michel Huglo includes in his recent study of processionals a Carmelite example from the convent of the Encarnación in Avila. Michel Huglo, *Les manuscrits du processional*, II: *France à l'Afrique du Sud* (Munich: Henle, 2004), Avila, Monasterio de la Encarnación, MS 5, pp. 531–32.

[5] The manuscript is described in *Inwentarz Rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego*, ed. by Dician and Loret-Heintsch under the direction of Fastnacht, III, 24–25.

new convent in that year.[6] Feliks Kopera and Leonard Lepszy discussed several of these manuscripts, particularly codices 1 and 2, in their work on illuminated manuscripts from the Dominican and Carmelite convents in Kraków,[7] and Pavel Brodsky discussed the three original codices as examples of Czech manuscript illumination.[8] Katarzyna Płonka-Bałus also has discussed these three manuscripts from an art historical point of view, maintaining that they were executed in city workshops whose illuminators had close contact with painters and sculptors.[9] She also argues that three separate illuminators were responsible for the historiated initials and other decorations in the manuscripts:

[6] Katarzyna Płonka-Bałus suggests that these three antiphonals did not come to Kraków in 1397, but only at a later date, around 1462, a position which is generally untenable. She argues that it is unconscionable that such an important, precious, and expensive book whose creators put their name on it, was offered to a convent which was being organized. In fact, the composition of these choir books for the new convent in Kraków, the first foundation in the kingdom of Lesser Poland, is entirely logical. Had these manuscripts remained in Prague, it is difficult to see how they could have survived the expulsion of the friars by the Hussites in 1411; the fact that no Carmelite choir books from Prague seem to have survived only strengthens the argument that they were made for Kraków and were brought there with the founding friars in 1397. See Płonka-Bałus, 'Antyfonarz z Roku 1397 w Bibliotece OO. Karmelitów na Piasku w Krakówie. Ze Studiów nad Iluminatorstwem Czeskim Przełomu XIV i XV Wieku', *Folia Historiae Artium*, 27 (1991), 35–62 (pp. 36–37) for this argument. Citing the work of Jerzy Gołos, 'Muzykalia biblioteki klasztoru Karmelitów', p. 94, she argues that a manuscript written for the Kraków cathedral was in the convent archive and thus suggests that it was used for their liturgy. It is not clear which manuscript in Gołos's inventory she means, but none of the codices cited on p. 94 is a complete antiphonary. Our discussion of Carmelite liturgical legislation in Chapter 2 demonstrates that the local Carmelites would never have used a diocesan antiphonal to chant the Divine Office.

[7] Feliks Kopera and Leonard Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce, II: Illuminowane Rękopisy księgozbioru OO. Dominikanów i OO. Karmelitów w Krakowie* (Warsaw: Ksiegarnia Gelethnera i Wolffa, 1926). The discussion of MS 1 occurs on pp. 47–54, that of MS 2 on pp. 54–60.

[8] Pavel Brodsky, *Illuminované rukopisy českého původu v polských sbírkách: Illuminated manuscripts of Czech Origin in the Polish Collections*, Studie o rukopisech — Monographia, 11: Manuscript Studies — Monographia ,11. (Prague:, Archiv AV ER, 2004), especially his general discussion of these three manuscripts on p. 29 and detailed discussion of them, especially their historiated initials, on pp. 65–69; Brodsky discusses Czech illumination styles thoroughly in his *Katalog Iluminovaných Rukopisů Knihovny Národního Muzea v Praze: Catalogue of the Illuminated Manuscripts of the Library of the National Museum, Prague* (Prague: KLP, 2000), especially pp. xxxix–xlvii.

[9] Płonka-Bałus, 'Antyfonarz z roku 1397', p. 35.

thus one scribe painted the Nativity scene for the 'R' of 'Rex pacificus', for Christmas in codex 2 (MS 1 in her numbering), folio 36r, 'S' for 'Solem iustitiae' in MS 1 (her MS 2), page 192, depicting the St Anne Trinity, the 'H' for 'Hec est regina' showing the coronation of Mary in MS 1 (her MS 2), page 195; a second painter did the 'V' for 'Venit lumen tuum' on folio 74 of MS 2 (MS 1 in her numbering], depicting the visit of the Three Kings for the Epiphany, and a third illuminator painted the 'S' for 'Sacerdos' for the feast of Corpus Christi in the Wrocław antiphonary, folio 76v, described by Płonka-Bałus as the least artistically accomplished of the illuminations.[10] Tadeusz Chrzanowski and Tadeusz Maciejewski discussed the illuminated Gradual of 1644, long considered a fine example of counter-reformation art in Poland, in their book *Graduale Karmelitański z 1644 roku O. Stanisława ze Stolca*.[11]

The codex currently in Wrocław is particularly interesting because of its dedicatory colophon and its own history. Kopera and Lepszy refer to a description of this work by M. Bersohn done in 1900 when the work was still in the Carmelite convent. It was given later to Anthony Gramatyka, a painter, in payment for an extensive project done in the convent; after his death on 23 December 1922 it passed to his daughter Anna Gramatyka-Ostrowska, also a painter, and eventually into the Ossiliński library in Wrocław.[12] The dedicatory colophon in the Wrocław antiphonary[13] gives us a suitable context for understanding its composition, along with Kraków codices 1 and 2, and reads as follows:

> Anno ab incarnatione Domini nostri Ihesu Xpisti Millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo septimo. In die translationis Sancti Wencezlai ducis Bohem[i]e Conpletus est iste liber per manus fratris Leonis Ex ordinacione reverendi patris Prioris provincialis Fratris Henrici de Greuenberg Anno provincialatus sui IIII° Et sub regimine fratris Hartmanni de Tachovia protunc prioris pragensis Anno officii sui XVIII° hic edificavit novum chorum et complevit tectum una cum magnis organis eodem anno. Ideo orate deum pro eo [. . .]. Sciant ergo cuncti posteri nostri que hij subscripti fratres pro tunc filii nostri conventus quilibet eorum proposse suo porrexit manum adiutem pro completione istius libri primo prior prescriptus. Item frater nicolaus raubem protunc prior tachoniensis. Item frater iacobus aquila

[10] Płonka-Bałus, 'Antyfonarz z roku 1397', pp. 56–57.

[11] Tadeusz Chrzanowki and Tadeusz Maciejewski, *Graduale Karmelitański z 1644 roku O. Stanisława ze Stolca* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1976).

[12] Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, II, 60.

[13] For a discussion of this manuscript see Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, II, 60–69.

predicator hic rexit ambonem bohemicalem xxvi annis item frater procopius cantor hic rexit chorum xlvi annis et maxime pragensis et fuit [. . .][14]

In the one thousand three hundred and ninety-seventh year of the incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, on the feast day of the translation of St Wenceslaus, Duke of Bohemia, this book was completed by the hand of Brother Leo, by order of the Reverend Father Prior Provincial Brother Henry of Greuenberg, in the fourth year of his provincialate and during the administration of Brother Hartmann of Tachau, at the time Prior of Prague, in his eighteenth year in office; he also built the new choir and completed the roof, along with the great organ, in the same year. Therefore pray to God for him. Let all those who come after us know that the brothers whose names are listed below, at that time sons of our convent, each lent a helping hand insofar as he was able for the completion of this book: first the aforementioned Prior; then Brother Nicolaus Raubem at the time Prior of the convent of Tachau; then Brother Iacobus Aquila: this preacher presided over the Bohemian pulpit for twenty-six years; also Brother Procopius the cantor who directed the choir for forty-six years and was particularly [a son] of Prague and was [. . .][15]

The selection of the feast of the translation of St Wenceslaus, 4 March, as the termination date for this codex suggests that the local Carmelites participated fully in the Bohemian devotion to St Wenceslaus, even though his feast was not normally part of the Carmelite rite. The rhymed office to St Wenceslaus in MS 1, to be discussed below, reinforces this devotion. Fr Bronisław Tomaszewski has identified the author of the antiphonal ('by the hand of Brother Leo') as Fr Leon (Bohemus) who in 1399 founded the second foundation in the kingdom of Poland, the convent in Poznań.[16] The reference to Fr Hartmann of Tachau's eighteenth year as Prior suggests that he had an extraordinarily long term in office by both medieval and modern standards. His completion of the new choir and roof and installation of the organ, all in the same year, suggests a vibrant building campaign in the priory[17] and shows that

[14] This inscription is reproduced in Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, II, 67.

[15] The insciption page is an unnumbered folio; the verso side begins the antiphonary proper, numbered as page 1 in the revisions of the later hand of the eighteenth century. The first part of this inscription has been transcribed in *Inwentarz Rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego*, ed. by Dician and Loret-Heintsch under the direction of Fastnacht, III, 24.

[16] O. dr. Bronisław Alfons Tomaszewski, O. Carm., 'Dzieje Klasztoru OO. Karmelitów', p. 31.

[17] For a discussion of the Carmelite church of Our Lady of the Snows in Prague, see Jan Muk and Olga Novosadová, 'Bývaly klášter karmelitánů u Panny Marie Sněžné ve středověku', *Staleta Praha*, 14 (1984), 103–10.

music played an important role in the liturgical life of the Prague convent. Fr Iacobus Aquila's term of twenty-six years as lector and Fr Procopius' forty-six years as choir director demonstrate an unusually stable environment in the Prague convent. The convent was founded in 1347 as part of the expansion of the Upper German Carmelite province, the sixteenth house in the order of foundation,[18] so Fr Procopius was probably one of the early vocations to that convent. His selection of the prominent Bohemian saint Procopius for his own religious name surely indicates that he himself was Bohemian. Allowing the same Carmelite to remain as choir director for such a long time indicates that liturgical life was a priority in the convent of Prague and presumably by extension in Kraków.

This Wrocław manuscript was revised and corrected under the direction of Fr Bonaventura Kiełkowicz in March 1743, as its new title page indicates: 'Antiphonarium hoc reparatum est ac indicibus illustratum, gubernante Caenobium istud Adm[odum] R[evere]n[do] P[atri] Magr[ist]ro Bonaventura Kiełkowicz, Ex Pro[vincia]li S[acrae]. Th[eologiae] Doctor[i] & pro tunc Custode Provinciae. Anno D[omi]ni Millesimo Septingentesimo Quadragesimo Tertio. Mense Martii. Ad Futuram Rei Memoriam'. As ex-provincial Fr Bonaventura had the necessary juridical status to undertake this project and as a doctor of Theology he had the necessary theological expertise to revise these books, which exercised considerable authority in the convent for the ensuing century. While no mention is made of any musical skill he may have had, such training would have been part of his early education as a Carmelite, presumably received in the convent before proceeding to theological studies. Thus both his position as ex-provincial and his theological expertise gave appropriate authority to the revised antiphonals.

The recently published CANTUS index for these manuscripts at the website of the University of Western Ontario[19] indicates which chants throughout the manuscript are original and which are by a later hand. A virtually identical title page to that in the Wrocław manuscript occurs at the beginning of Kraków MSS 1 and 2. This of course means that these antiphonals were used in their unrevised form until the middle of the eighteenth century, so that the medieval format for chant in Kraków was probably used for about two

[18] Deckert, *Die Oberdeutsche Provinz der Karmeliten*, p. 29.

[19] The homepage for CANTUS is <http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/> [accessed 24 January 2007]; the manuscripts are described in the 'about' file and each complete index may be downloaded for viewing or printing.

centuries after the Council of Trent. Manuscripts 3, 4, and 5 have no such title page and have undergone less revision than the original set from 1397. As part of the revision the pagination was redone, so that the Wrocław manuscript and MS 1 are paginated rather than foliated, a situation which also applies to MS 4, although no title page is included in this manuscript. MSS 2, 3, and 5 all retain their folio numbers, perhaps suggesting that there was less disturbance by later hands in these manuscripts than in the other three.

A much simpler colophon on folio 190ᵛ of MS 3 states: 'Anno Domini Millesimo Quatuorcentesimo Sexagesimo Octavo Feria Quinta ante Septuagesimam iste Liber est Terminatus: Oretis pro Scriptore Deum et est comperatus per ven[era]b[i]lem patrem mathiam' ('In the One Thousand Four Hundred Sixty-Eighth year of Our Lord on the Thursday before Septuagesima Sunday this book was finished — pray to God for the scribe — and was prepared by Venerable Father Matthias'). While the Thursday before Septuagesima Sunday is not a particularly distinguished date, it does suggest that the local friars had time to study the manuscript and familiarize themselves with its contents before actually using it for services for the Easter vigil and the following Easter season with which the manuscript begins on folio 1. Manuscripts 4 and 5, although undated, can safely be ascribed on paleographical and liturgical grounds to the fifteenth century.

As a group these manuscripts contain the complete chants for the office as prescribed by the ordinal of Sibert de Beka of 1312 for the entire liturgical year: the Wrocław manuscript contains the summer portion, from Easter through the 25th Sunday after the octave of Pentecost (Trinity Sunday); this is followed by the Carmelite and Holy Sepulchre feast of the Commemoration of the Resurrection, celebrated on the last Sunday of the year, thus towards the end of November. The manuscript concludes with the feast of the dedication of a Church, whose date probably occurred on the anniversary of its actual dedication, although it could also have been celebrated on 15 July, the date for its celebration in the Holy Sepulchre rite.[20] Kraków MS 1[21] covers the same time period for the sanctoral cycle, from St Mark on 25 April to St Catherine of Alexandria on 25 November, in addition to a number of saints added by a later

[20] This is the date for its celebration listed in Vatican Library, Barberini MS 659: *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 368.

[21] The contents of this manuscript are described from an art historical viewpoint in Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, II, 47–54.

hand. Manuscript 2[22] covers the winter portion of the temporal cycle, (discounting the Annunciation chants in a later hand) from Advent, whose chants for the outset of the season have been revised by a later hand, through the Easter vigil (with some *lacunae* in the process). Proper saints celebrated during the octave of Christmas, as well as feasts in the sanctoral cycle, from St Andrew on 30 November through the Chair of St Peter on 22 February, also occur in this manuscript. The scope of MS 3 is much more extensive: first of all it is a large manuscript, comprising some 200 folios; secondly, it is much more densely written, fitting much more material onto its ten staves per folio, than MSS 1 and 2 do onto their nine staves per folio. Some of this material replicates that of MS 1, such as some of the Sundays after Easter, Pentecost, and the Sundays after Trinity; similarly, the sanctoral cycle extends from the Invention of the Holy Cross on 3 May (fol. 86) through St Catherine on 25 November (fol. 183ᵛ). Manuscript 3 contains some chants for the Visitation feast on 2 July (fols 111–114) with folios before and after it excised from the manuscript; the version of this office in MS 1 (fol. 77) is not only incomplete, but was revised by a later hand, leaving only the original capital letters intact. A comparison of such letters between this manuscript and another version of the office found in a Mainz Carmelite source, Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Codex C[23] can enable us to reconstruct the Kraków version with considerable accuracy, which we will discuss below. The rhymed office of St Anne is found in both MS 1 (p. 94) and MS 3 (fol. 117); the version in MS 3 is virtually undisturbed, allowing us to understand some of the effects of updating the office in MS 1. Thus MS 3 repeats much of the material of the summer portion of the antiphonal contained in MS 1. Similarly, MS 5 replicates much of the material, both temporal and sanctoral, of MS 2, including the 'Pastor cesus in gregis' rhymed office for St Thomas of Canterbury, beginning on folio 40. The sanctoral cycle extends from St Nicholas on 6 December (fol. 93) through the Annunciation on 25 March (fol. 136ᵛ). Manuscript 4 contains chants for the common of the saints, as well as a section entitled 'in commemoratione Marie virginis' (p. 107) for the Saturday commemoration of the Virgin in the Carmelite tradition; it

[22] MS 2 is discussed by Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, ii, 54–60.

[23] The office of the Visitation begins on f. 196 of this manuscript; for a discussion of these Mainz Carmelite manuscripts cf. my article, 'Die Mainzer Karmeliterchorbücher', 267-303. These chants have been edited in Boyce, '*Cantica Carmelitana*: The Chants of the Carmelite Office', 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1984; University Microfilms International no. 85-05471), ii, 82–125.

also contains the office of the dead, suffrages in a later hand, and other chants.[24] Thus MSS 1 and 3 contain similar material, as do MSS 2 and 5, with MS 4 completing the set. Some of the summer temporal chants contained in the Wrocław MS are also found in MS 3, but much of the material is found only in this manuscript. Of particular interest is the complete office for the Carmelite and Holy Sepulchre feast of the Commemoration of the Resurrection, celebrated on the last Sunday of the year, as well as the chants for the dedication of a Church.

Two sixteenth-century inventories of liturgical books in the Carmelite convent mention some of these choir books.[25] One inventory written in Latin from 1560[26] mentions six Missals, (plus?) two manuscript and two printed ones, an Ordinal, presumably a copy of Sibert's ordinal of 1312, a martyrology, an agenda (presumably *agenda mortuorum*, the ritual for the dead), four processionals and a book of prayers for the processions, a fe[r]ramentum [pro pistandis ablatas], (an iron cooking utensil used to make the large hosts for the priest celebrants), a large noted gradual, two parchment antiphonaries (probably the same as what are now our MSS 1, 2, and the Wrocław antiphonary), a parchment common of the saints (presumably our MS 4), three parchment psalters, a diurnal for the choir, and a parchment breviary. A subsequent inventory written in Polish and Latin in 1595[27] lists the noted Gradual, an 'Antiphonarz Estiwalny' which probably corresponds to MS 1 and the Wrocław antiphonary combined to make the summer Antiphonary, an 'Antiphonarz Hiemalis', the winter portion, corresponding to MS 2, and a 'Comunal[e] de Sanctis', the common of the saints, corresponding to MS 4. In addition it mentions a psalter with musical notation, a psalter without music, a parchment Carmelite breviary, a small psalter (*Psalterium parvum*), martyrology, diurnal, four missals, and a Carmelite processional.

The 'Antiphonarz Estiwalny' and 'Antiphonarz Hiemalis' mentioned in the 1595 inventory are presumably just a clarification of the two antiphonaries mentioned in the inventory of 1560. While MS 1 is clearly the summer antiphonary and MS 2 the winter portion, these two and the Wrocław

[24] Kopera and Lepszy discuss this manuscript, also numbered MS 4, in *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, II, 69–70.

[25] Wacław Kolak, 'Najstarsze zachowane inwentarze kościoła Karmelitów w Krakowie "na Piasku"', *Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny*, 3 (1997), 85–98.

[26] Kolak, *Katalog Archiwum*, AKKr645/411, pp. 16–17.

[27] Kolak. *Katalog Archiwum*, AKKr645/411, p. 40.

antiphonary were revised in 1743 as explained in the title page of each. Since the Wrocław codex contains the summer temporal chants, it is plausible that it and MS 1 were originally a single volume which corresponds to the 'Antiphonarz Estiwalny' listed to in the 1595 inventory. This parallels a situation among the Mainz Carmelite choir books, written in the years after 1430[28] and now housed in the local Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, where MSS A and E were clearly conceived as a single volume.[29] Manuscript 2 also shows signs of substantial revision in 1743, and perhaps earlier; the relationship between this manuscript and MS 5 is not nearly as clear as the one between MS 1 and the Wrocław codex. While neither MS 2 nor MS 5 has preserved the chants in the original hand for the first Sunday of Advent, for instance, both codices do in general cover the same liturgical material. Therefore, rather than being complementary to each other, MSS 2 and 5 are best understood as companion volumes, perhaps used for alternate sides of the choir in the Kraków convent; another possible alternative is that MS 5 came from another house of the Polish province into the collection. The fact that its measurements are virtually the same as codex 2, 51/52 x 35 cm., suggests that MS 5 was copied from MS 2. The 'Comunal[e] de Sanctis' mentioned in the 1595 inventory is probably MS 4, which is almost completely dedicated to the commons of the saints. Manuscript 3, dated to 1468, is somewhat smaller in dimension and denser than MSS 1 and 2 and hence more difficult to use in choir. Since it is not mentioned as such in either inventory, it may either have been used in another convent or served another purpose in the Kraków convent itself, such as for training the singers, serving for the other side of the choir, providing an additional resource for the choir or *schola*, or serving as a model for copying other manuscripts. Its slightly smaller size and script would make it difficult to be used by a large group of singers, especially for the night office of Matins where visibility would be difficult anyway.

The inventory of 1595 is particularly important since it was written after the Council of Trent and some ten years after the Carmelites had mandated a

[28] Fritz Arens has discussed the elaborate dedication page of Codex A in 'Ein Blatt aus den Mainzer Karmeliterchorbüchern', *Jahrbuch für das Bistum Mainz*, 8 (1958-60), 341–46, dating this codex to 1430; a virtually identical page in Codex B gives the date of 1432 as the date of completion of this manuscript, discussed in Boyce, 'Die Mainzer Karmeliterchorbücher' pp. 267–303.

[29] These two manuscripts are described in Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, pp. 256–57; the foliation of codex A ends at 277v and that of codex E begins at 278.

thorough revision of their liturgy in line with the Council's directives.[30] The three psalters mentioned in the inventory of 1560 are made more explicit in the later one of 1595 as psalters *sine notis*, *cum notis*, and *parvum* respectively. The psalter *cum notis* presumably supplied the chant incipits for the antiphons to be used along with the psalms, since the psalm texts and psalm tones normally had to be memorized by the clerical students in the novitiate. Seventeenth-century chapter acts of the Polish province are careful to list the clerical novices separately from the brother novices, whose training as Carmelites would have been substantially different;[31] in the book of professions the clerics made their vows in Latin while the brothers did so in Polish.[32] If the cantor in Kraków had even remotely the same stability as Brother Procopius in Prague, mentioned in the dedication to the Wrocław manuscript, one can presume that the clerical novices received a thorough training in chant performance.

The 'Graduale cum notis Carmelitarum' mentioned in the inventory of 1595 is presumably the same as the 'Graduale magnum in pargamen[o] notatum' mentioned in the inventory of 1560. This Gradual was probably replaced by the renowned Gradual for the temporal cycle completed by Fr Stanisław de Stolec in 1644 mentioned above, MS 6 in our inventory. Although much of the liturgical material remained the same for the Carmelites after the Tridentine revisions, this earlier medieval Gradual has not survived to modern times.

Manuscripts 1 and 2 and the Wrocław antiphonary listed in Appendix 1 were revised as part of a larger liturgical renewal project in 1743. The manuscripts in the collection come from both the Kraków and Lwów convents, whose manuscripts were revised around the same time by Fr Marcin Rubczyński, Prior of Lwów.[33] Of these later newly written manuscripts, only

[30] The General Chapter of 1580 mandated this liturgical reform, carried out by a commission who published the reformed breviary in 1585 and missal in 1587: Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 231.

[31] For instance, the Chapter of 1644 lists in Kraków 5 (plus 2 crossed out) 'novitii clerici ' and 6 'novitii conversi'; cf. Archiwum Karmelitów w Krakowie, AKKr93, *Akta kapituł prowincjalnych sesji definitorów prowincji, kopie pism generała zakonu* (1603, 7.XI-1667), fol. 131, described in Kolak, *Katalog Archiwum*, p. 84.

[32] AKKr 130, *Cathalogus professorum [. . .]*, described in Kolak, *Katalog Archiwum*, p. 90.

[33] Wacław Kolek, 'Rubczyński, Marcin', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Polska Akademia Nauk Instytut Historii, 32 vols (Wrocław: Polska Akademia Nauk Instytut Historii, 1989–91), XXXIII, 561–62. See Smet, *Carmelites*, III:2, 447 and Serapion Opielka, O. Carm., 'Provinciae Poloniae', *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, 1 (1909–10), 476–82, 510–17, 544–47 (pp. 516–17) for a brief discussion of Fr Rubczyński.

MSS 11, 12, 13, 14, and 16 are antiphonaries; MSS 11 and 12 were compiled by Fr Kiełkowicz for use in Kraków and MSS 13, 14, and 16 by Fr Rubczyński for use in Lwów. Manuscripts 11 and 12, contain chants not normally found in MSS 1, 2, and Wrocław, so that in their revised form the three original manuscripts from 1397 continued to be used until the nineteenth century. Thus the newly created manuscripts complemented rather than replaced the earlier ones.[34]

Part II: The Organization of the Manuscripts

The Temporal Cycle

The organization of the entire Carmelite liturgy, including its temporal cycle, was determined by the ordinal of Sibert de Beka, promulgated in 1312 by the General Chapter of London, a copy of which is listed in the Kraków inventory of 1560. Sibert's ordinal ceased to be relevant after the Council of Trent and the subsequent Carmelite liturgical reform conducted after 1580; in any event it had long since been replaced by the widespread use of printed breviaries, an early example of which was printed in Venice in 1495.[35] The Carmelites followed the general church calendar, including the two major seasons of Christmas, preceded by the four Sundays of Advent, and Easter, preceded by Septuagesima Sunday through all of Lent. The Sundays after Easter until Pentecost and Trinity followed the same order as other rites, although the Carmelite organization of the chants in general was distinctive: following Dominican and Holy Sepulchre

[34] See Boyce, 'The Carmelite Choirbooks of Krakow', 17–34, as well as a more general discussion of the question in 'The Carmelite Office in the Tridentine Era', in *The Past in the Present: Papers Read at the IMS Intercongressional Symposium and the 10th Meeting of the CANTUS PLANUS Budapest & Visegrád*, ed. by László Dobszay, 2 vols (Budapest: Liszt Ferenc Academy of Music, 2003), II, 353–87.

[35] *Breviarium de camera secundum usum carmelitarum [. . .] per . . . fratrem Joannem Mariam de Poluciis seu Prandinis de Novolario [. . .] emendatum [. . .]* (Venice: Andreas Torresanis de Asula, 1495). The incunabulum is described in *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 10 vols (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1926–2000), V, 120–21. A copy of this incunabulum is now in the Amherst College Library, with the shelfmark 'xRBR Incun 1495 B7': *Incunabula in American Libraries: A Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Recorded in North American Collections*, ed. by Frederick R. Goff (Millwood: Kraus Reprint, 1973), p. 137.

practice, the Carmelites numbered the ensuing Sundays after Trinity rather than after Pentecost,[36] either calling them explicitly after Trinity or after the octave of Pentecost. As a result, the Carmelite ordering of the Benedictus and Magnificat antiphons for the canticles of Lauds and Vespers respectively usually differed from the series in other traditions, including the local diocese where a given Carmelite convent was located.

While I have shown elsewhere that for the Tridentine era the Carmelite usage often differed from the published Roman breviary,[37] for Advent and other sections of the Temporal cycle,[38] a brief comparison of chants between the Carmelite ordinal of Sibert de Beka and the Franciscan ordinal of Haymo of Faversham illustrates this distinctiveness for the medieval period as well. For Matins of the first Sunday of Advent the Invitatory (Psalm 94) antiphon for Matins is 'Ecce veniet rex' in Sibert's ordinal[39] and 'Regem venturum dominum' in Haymo's ordinal; the three antiphons for the first nocturn are 'Consurge consurge induere', 'Elevare elevare consurge', and 'Levabit dominus signum' in Sibert's ordinal while in Haymo's ordinal they are 'Veniet ecce', 'Confortate manus', and 'Gaudete omnes'.[40] Comparing the Carmelite tradition with a fourteenth-century Prague breviary from the diocese where these Carmelite manuscripts were written shows that the first antiphon for first Vespers in Prague is 'Gaude et laetare',[41] while in Sibert's ordinal it is 'Benedictus'.[42] The Invitatory antiphon is the same; the first Matins antiphon is 'Hora est', in Prague rather than 'Consurge', as in the Carmelite usage. The fourth Matins antiphon is 'Nox praecessit' in Prague usage and 'Leva Jerusalem' in the

[36] Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy*, p. 175.

[37] *Breviarium Romanum, editio princeps (1568)*, ed. by Manlio Sodi and others (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1999).

[38] Boyce, 'The Carmelite Office in the Tridentine Era', 353–87.

[39] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 109.

[40] The Carmelite listing of chants is found in *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 109; the Franciscan chants are found in *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, ed. by van Dijk, II, 17.

[41] The Prague breviary is described as 'Breviarium 14, Praha, Universitni knihovna, VIII A 12', thus a fourteenth-century Prague breviary now housed in the university library, whose contents have been indexed in the project CAO-ECE, available through the internet at <http://www.zti.hu/earlymusic/cao-ece/cao_sources.asp> [accessed 24 January 2007].

[42] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 109.

Carmelite rite.[43] A similar situation obtains among Carmelite, Dominican and local diocesan rites for this and numerous other occasions in the temporal cycle. In discussing the Sundays of Advent in the Holy Sepulchre rite, Cristina Dondi lists the Matins responsories for each one. While for the first Sunday of Advent she does not find any specific French diocesan source which influenced Holy Sepulchre practice, her list of responsories is as follows: 1) Aspiciens a longe, v. Quique terrigene; 2) Aspiciebam, v. Potestas eius; 3) Missus est, v. Dabit ei; 4) Ave Maria [. . .] Spiritus, v. Quomodo fiet; 5) Salvatorem, v. Sobrie et iuste; 6) Audite verbum, v. Adnuntiate; 7) Ecce virgo, v. Super solium; 8) Obsecro, v. A solis ortu; 9) Laetentur coeli, v. Orietur in diebus; and 10) Alieni non transibunt, v. Ego veniam.[44] She points out that the main characteristic of this series is the last responsory, 'Alieni non transibunt', and then compares these to a series in René-Jean Hesbert's *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*,[45] without actually stating the function of the tenth responsory. Significantly, the ordinal of Sibert de Beka contains the same series of responsories for the first Sunday of Advent,[46] with the indication that the responsory 'Alieni' with its verse 'Ecce ego', presumably a variant of 'Ego veniam', is to be used as the first responsory for Matins on Monday of the first week in Advent.[47] In other words, the Carmelite chants follow Holy Sepulchre practice for the first Sunday of Advent.

Special Celebrations

The Dedication of a Church. Chants for the dedication of a church are listed in a separate section of the ordinal of Sibert de Beka, presumably because the dedication of a church depended upon the local bishop's schedule, which then necessarily established its date. The same situation must have applied to the dedication liturgy for other religious order and diocesan churches as well. Sibert clearly indicates that the bishop's schedule influenced the structure of the liturgical day for the office liturgies as well as for the date of the dedication. Thus

[43] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 109.

[44] Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 106.

[45] Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 106; the analysis of the Advent chants in René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*, 6 vols (Rome: Herder, 1963–79) occurs in v, 32–33.

[46] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, pp. 109-110.

[47] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 111.

the dedication Mass was celebrated in the morning, beginning the liturgical feast; first Vespers was celebrated that afternoon or evening, with the full cycle of offices leading through the following day. While first Vespers usually began the feast on its vigil, in the case of the dedication the morning ritual of consecrating the new church inaugurated the feast, so that the office necessarily had to start on the evening of the day itself rather than on the vigil. Chants for the feast of the dedication occur both in the Wrocław manuscript and in Kraków, MS 3 and are shown in our Table 2, which lists the chant under its liturgical function, the textual incipit, the folio number in Kraków, Carmelite convent, MS 3 (CarK3)[48] where the chant occurs, the page number in the Wrocław manuscript (Wro) where the chant occurs, its mode, and the page in the modern edition of Sibert's ordinal where the chant is listed (Sibert). Thus in Wro only the first antiphon for first Vespers is listed, with a rubric indicating the other psalms, and presumably the following antiphons, to be used. Items which are listed only as a rubric are indicated by an asterisk (*) in the mode column. Table 2 thus indicates that some of the pieces in this Kraków Carmelite usage do not follow the prescriptions of Sibert's ordinal, such as the second and thurd antiphons for Matins, for instance. In other cases their liturgical placement is different in Kraków from the order's tradition, as with the sixth antiphon for Matins, for example. Cristina Dondi has pointed out that these Carmelite chants for the dedication feast are significantly different from the Holy Sepulchre tradition and are in fact closer to the Sarum rite than to the Holy Sepulchre practice. She cites a number of differences in the choice of responsory text between the two usages. Thus the ninth responsory in Holy Sepulchre usage, 'Mane surgens Iacob / v. Cumque mane evigilasset', compares with the third responsory in Sibert's ordinal and the fourth in Kra3 and Wro, where the verse to 'Mane surgens Iacob' is 'Vidit Iacob scalam'. The fourth responsory in Holy Sepulchre practice and Sibert's ordinal is 'Benedic domine', with the verse 'Si peccaverit populus' in Holy Sepulchre and 'Domine si conversus' in Sibert's ordinal, but with the verse 'Conserva Domine' in CarK3 and Wro.[49] It is all the more significant, therefore, that this feast is one of the rare instances wherein the Kraków Carmelite tradition differed substantially from both Sibert's ordinal and established Carmelite practice in older centres. Thus the list of chants in the Pisa and Mainz codices generally followed Sibert's

[48] We use the abbreviation Car for Carmelite, K for Kraków and the number of the manuscripts to designate the manuscript.

[49] See Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, pp. 126–28 for her analysis of the two traditions.

prescriptions much more carefully than chants in the Kraków manuscripts. For instance, some of the Matins antiphons used here are different from the established Carmelite tradition and some of the responsories which are the same still use a different verse text in Kraków than in other Carmelite manuscripts.[50] Thus the responsory 'Benedic Domine', the third responsory of the Kraków Carmelite tradition (as opposed to the fourth in Holy Sepulchre usage and Sibert de Beka's ordinal) has the verse 'Qui regis Israel', which is different from the other two. The fifth Holy Sepulchre responsory, 'Lapides pretiosi / v. Hec est domus Domini', is the same as the seventh in Sibert's Ordinal and compares with the seventh in Kraków, 'Lapides pretiosi / v. Structura muri'. Nor are the two Carmelite manuscripts totally consistent with each other: thus the seventh Matins antiphon, 'Qui habitat in adiutorio', and the eighth antiphon, 'Templum Domini', in Wro are reversed in CarK3. CarK3 predictably features 'Terribilis est locus iste' as the final Matins responsory (also used for first Vespers) while Wro uses an entirely different responsory, one which does not follow the standard melodic pattern for the verse, 'Benedic Domine' with its verse 'Conserva Domine', which we will discuss further in Part IV. Instances in the 'Sibert' column where a page number is given in parentheses indicate a discrepancy between the version in Sibert and in the Kraków manuscript; usually this means that the responsory verse is different in each instance. The Magnificat antiphon for second Vespers, 'Zachee festinans', is incomplete in Wro but is consistent with the version in CarK3. In other words, the Kraków tradition digressed from the order's standardized chants for this feast, which in turn were significantly different from the practices of the parent rite of the Holy Sepulchre. The reasons for this radically different version of the feast are necessarily conjectural, but may have to do with the local diocesan practice of either Prague or Kraków; perhaps, since the occasion itself necessarily relied heavily on the local bishop, the Carmelites decided to accommodate other aspects of the feast to diocesan practice as well.

[50] For a more thorough discussion of this feast, see James Boyce, O. Carm., 'Consecrating the House: The Carmelites and the Office of the Dedication of a Church', in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. by Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 129–45.

Table 2: Feast of the Dedication of a Church (for abbreviations see chart on p. 535, following the index)

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	CarK3	Wro	Mode	Sibert
1Vesp	Ant1	Sanctificavit Dominus				
		Ps. Letatus	76^v	187	1	60
	Ant2	Domus haec sancta Jerusalem				
		Ps. Qui confidunt	76^v		3	60
	Ant3	Gloriosum et terribile nomen				
		Ps. Nisi Dominus	76^v		4	60
	Ant4	Benedictus es in templo				
		Ps. Confitebor	76^v		5	60
	Ant5	In dedicatione huius templi				
		Ps. Lauda Jerusalem	77		6	60
	R	Terribilis est locus iste				
		v. Cumque evigilasset Jacob				
		v. Gloria Patri	77	187	2	60
	H	Urbs beata Jerusalem	77^v	188	*	60
	V	Domum tuam Domine decet	77^v		*	60
	Mag	O quam metuendus est locus				
		Ps. Magnificat	77^v	188	6	60
Matins	Inv	Exultemus Domino regi summo				
		Ps. Venite	77^v	188	4	61
	H	Angulare	77^v		*	61

Chant		Incipit		CarK3	Wro	Mode	Sibert
Service	Prayer						
Noct1	Ant1	Tollite portas principes					
		Ps.	Domini est terra	77v	189	3	61
	Ant2	Erit mihi Dominus in Deum					
		Ps.	Deus noster refugium	77v	189	7	
	Ant3	Aedificavit Moyses altare Domino					
		Ps.	Magnus Dominus	77v	189	6	
	V	Domum tuam		77v		*	61
	R1	In dedicatione templi					
		v.	Fundata est domus	78	189	1	61
	R2	Fundata est domus					
		v.	Benedic Domine domum				
		istam		78	190	2	
	R3	Benedic Domine domum istam					
		v.	Qui regis Israel	78	191	8	61 (Noct2, R1)
Noct2	Ant1	Non est hic aliud					
		Ps.	Quam dilecta	78v	191	7	61
	Ant2	Vidit Jacob scalam					
		Ps.	Benedixisti	78v	191	7	
	Ant3	Erexit Jacob lapidem					
		Ps.	Fundamenta	78v	192	7	61 (Noct2, Ant2)
	V	Haec est domus Domini				*	
	R1	Mane surgens Jacob					
		v.	Cumque evigilasset Jacob	78v	192	4	61 (Noct1, R3)

Chant: Service	Chant: Prayer	Incipit		CarK3	Wro	Mode	Sibert
	R2	O quam metuendus est locus					
		v.	Vere Dominus est in loco	79	193	1	61
	R3	Sanctificavit Dominus tabernaculum					
		v.	Haec est domus Domini	79	193	3	
Noct3	Ant1	Qui habitat in adiutorio altissimi					
		Ps.	Ipsum	79v (Ant2)	194	8	61
	Ant2	Templum Domini sanctum est					
		Ps.	Cantate primus	79 (Ant1)	194	2	
	Ant3	Benedicta gloria Domini					
		Ps.	Dominus regnavit exultet	79v	194	7	
	V	Beati qui habitant		79v	194	*	
	R1	Lapides pretiosi omnes					
		v.	Structura muri	79v	194	7	61
	R2	Domus mea domus orationis					
		v.	Haec est domus Domini	79v	195	1	61
	R3	[*in Wro*] Benedic Domine domum istam					
		v.	Conserva Domine in ea				
		v.	Gloria patri [*In Noct3 R3 the Gloria patri is added at the end; often it is used for the 3rd responsory of the other two nocturns as well, but is assumed in the manuscripts*]		196	5	
	R3	[*in CarK3*] Terribilis est		80		*	61

Chant: Service	Prayer	Incipit		CarK3	Wro	Mode	Sibert
Lauds	Ant1	Domum tuam Domine					
		Ps.	Dominus regnavit	80	197	7	61
	Ant2	Haec est domus Domini					
		Ps.	Jubilate	80	197	1	61
	Ant3	Domus mea domus orationis		80		mode 1	
		Ps.	Deus Deus noster	[mode l]	197	transposed	61
	Ant4	Bene fundata est domus					
		Ps.	Benedicite	80	198	8	61
	Ant5	Lapides pretiosi omnes muri tui					
		Ps.	Euouae	80	198	1	61
	H	Urbs beata		80	198	*	61
	V	Domus mea		80	198	*	61
	Ben	Mane surgens Jacob erigebat					
		Ps.	Benedictus	80^{v}	198	4	61
Terce	R	Domum tuam Domine					
		v.	Haec est domus	80^{v}	199	*	61
Sext	R	Haec est domus Domini					
		v.	Beati qui habitant	80^{v}	199	*	61
None	R	Beati qui habitant					
		v.	In secula seculorum	80^{v}	199	r	61
	V	Domus mea		80^{v}		*	61
2Vesp	Mag	Zachee festinans descende					
		Ps.	Magnificat	80^{v}	199	8	62

The rite of consecration of a church set the building apart as a sacred space and officially inaugurated the activity of the Carmelites in Kraków. The event must have been of great significance for the people of the area, especially since the devotion to Our Lady on the Sands already had consecrated the area in the minds of the local inhabitants. The role of the newly arrived Carmelites was to accept the established but unique devotion to Our Lady on the Sands and develop it within the context of their own liturgical tradition, which already included a strong devotion to Mary. Naming the church in honour of the Visitation also had strong political overtones, especially in connection with the efforts of the Roman pope Boniface IX, whose apostolic confirmation established the Carmelites in Kraków, as we discussed in Chapter 1.

The ritual marked a significant milestone in the career of the local bishop, Piotr Wysz, since inaugurating in Kraków the convent and church of a newly arrived order enabled him to cooperate with the political and spiritual aspirations of both Queen Jadwiga and Pope Boniface IX, as we have discussed earlier. Moreover, the inauguration of a new religious order church marked a significant expansion of the spiritual life of the town, which in turn enhanced the civic value of Kraków, since the addition of every religious order added prestige to the town itself. Increasing the importance of the diocese of Kraków necessarily reflected favourably upon the bishop, whose own episcopal prestige grew in proportion to the diocese he administered. Sibert's ordinal clearly indicates that visiting friars from other convents should follow the schedule of liturgies as observed in the local convent they visited:

> Fratres de conventu in quo festum hujusmodi celebratur tam intus quam extra faciant officium de dedicatione, fratres etiam dum hospites sunt praesentes in conventu aliquo faciant officium sicut fit in conventu tam de festis dedicationis quam de aliis, quamvis per ordinem generaliter non fiant. Postquam vero recesserint de conventu, redeant ad officium consuetum.[51]
>
> The brothers of the convent in which the feast is being celebrated in this manner, both those from outside and those within, are to do the office of the dedication, since while the brothers are guests in any given convent they should do the office as it is done in the convent, both for the feasts of the dedication as well as for other offices, even for those which are generally not done throughout the order. However, once they have returned from the convent [to their own], they should return to doing the customary offices.

[51] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 60.

This is sufficient to suggest that a number of friars would have come from Prague, the founding convent, while the provincial and perhaps several other members of the Upper German province presumably came from Bamberg to celebrate this special event marking not only the dedication of a new church, but of the first Carmelite church in the kingdom of Lesser Poland. Sibert's ordinal prescribed that chants from the dedication feast be used for the entire week following the ceremony, with the octave of the dedication being celebrated a week later. CarK3 specifies exactly which pieces are to be sung for each of the days during the octave, so that the event essentially entailed a week-long liturgical celebration, probably along with special meals and other festivities of a more secular nature. Sibert's ordinal also prescribed the celebration of the dedication office on anniversaries of the event itself. In all probability the patronal feast of the Visitation eventually replaced the dedication office for the annual commemoration of the founding of the convent.

The Commemoration of the Resurrection. One of the most distinctive Carmelite feasts is known as the commemoration of the resurrection, celebrated on the last Sunday of the year, that is, the Sunday before the first Sunday in Advent.[52] Chants for its celebration are outlined in a separate preliminary section of Sibert's Ordinal,[53] before the main corpus of liturgical occasions for the temporal cycle: 'Dominica proxima ante Adventum Domini fiat festum duplex de commemoratione Resurrectionis dominicae secundum usum et consuetudinem approbatum ecclesiae sepulcri Hierosolymitanae'.[54] Thus from Sibert de Beka's point of view this was an important aspect of the rite of the Holy Sepulchre. It is all the more curious, then, that none of the manuscripts inventoried by Cristina Dondi seem to contain this feast, either in the temporal section of the manuscript or in a separate section comparable to the chants outlined for the dedication of a church; this obviously explains why she does not discuss such a feast in her book.[55] Since it is most unlikely that Sibert would have included chants for such a feast unless it was the custom in the Holy Land

[52] The liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, particularly the calendar, has been discussed by Francis Wormald in Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pp. 107–34 and in *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, pp. 367-370.

[53] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, pp. 37–9.

[54] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 37.

[55] Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*.

itself, one can only conclude that these chants are based on a source that has not survived or that the feast was observed in the Latin Kingdom without being specifically recorded as such in its surviving liturgical manuscripts. Clearly, though, the Carmelite observance of this feast was based on the firm belief that it formed part of the liturgy of the rite of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. Thus, beginning on page 178, Wro reproduces both text and music, not just rubrics, for all the chants, even though the vast majority of them stem directly from the Easter celebration itself. This direct reaffirmation of the Easter event at the end of the year relates directly to the tomb of the Lord which is the *raison d'être* for the rite of the Holy Sepulchre and, by extension, for the Carmelite rite as well. Table 3 lists the chants for this feast as found in Wro and the ordinal of Sibert de Beka. While almost all these chants have counterparts in René-Jean Hesbert's *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*,[56] their organization into this office is distinctively Carmelite, following the usage of the Holy Sepulchre. The organization of the chants and prayers within the context of this feast is in fact much more precise than their organization for Easter itself, since by definition the Easter offices follow a different format from the rest of the year. Thus since the Easter vigil was celebrated in the evening, first Vespers was omitted. Even though Easter is celebrated as a *totum duplex* feast,[57] Matins is necessarily abbreviated because of the celebration of the Easter vigil. Sibert's ordinal prescribes the usual morning Mass as well as a high Mass later on in the morning.[58] In addition to maintaining ties to the Holy Sepulchre rite, the feast of the commemoration of the resurrection reaffirms the centrality of the Easter event in Carmelite liturgical spirituality.[59] The importance of Easter commemorations is further reinforced by a commemoration of the resurrection at daily Vespers and Matins from the first Sunday of Easter to Advent, except for greater feasts and during the octave of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. For both Vespers and Matins this commemoration consisted of an antiphon,

[56] Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, III and IV.

[57] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 173.

[58] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 174.

[59] Arie Kallenberg discussed this resurrection spirituality in his article, 'The Resurrection in the Early Carmelite Liturgy and Carmelite Spirituality', *Carmelus*, 44 (1997), 5–20 and 'A Ressurreição na Liturgia e Espiritualidade dos antigos Carmelitas', in *In Labore Requies, (Homenaje de la Región Ibérica Carmelita a los Padres Pablo Garrido y Balbino Velasco)*, ed. by Fernando Millán Romeral (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2007), pp. 387–413.

verse, and prayer from the Easter liturgy.[60] This positive resurrection spirituality also relates to other feasts in the liturgy, such as the patriarchs, to be discussed below, and is highly influential in shaping the Carmelite liturgy as a whole. Concluding the liturgical year with this feast is especially important when one considers that, being celebrated at the end of November, it follows the commemorations of the dead in the feasts of All Saints and All Souls, and thus gives added significance to the Christian hope of resurrection. Its office is a more complete celebration of Easter, since the Easter offices necessarily had to be abbreviated in order to properly celebrate the Easter Vigil.

Table 3: Feast of the Commemoration of the Resurrection

Chant		Incipit	Sibert	Wro
Service	Prayer			
1Vesp	Ant1	Benedictus	37	178*
	R	Dum transisset		
		v. Et valde	37	178*
	H	Chorus	37	178*
	V	Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro	37	178*
	Mag	Vespere autem sabbati que		
		Ps. Magnificat	37	178
Matins	Inv	Alleluia surrexit Dominus		
		Ps. Venite	38	178
	H	Aurora lucis rutilat	38	178*
Noct1	Ant1	Ego sum qui sum et consilium		
		Ps. Beatus vir	38	178
	Ant2	Postulavi patrem meum		
		Ps. Quare fremuerunt	38	179
	Ant3	Ego dormivi et somnum coepi		
		Ps. Domine quid multiplicati	38	179
	V	Resurrexit dominus	38	179
	R1	Maria Magdalena et altera		
		v. Cito euntes dicite	38	179
	R2	Congratulamini mihi omnes		
		v. Tulerunt Dominum meum et	38	180
	R3	Tulerunt Dominum meum et		
		v. Dum ergo fleret inclinavit se	38	181

[60] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 28; Kallenberg, 'Resurrection in the Early Carmelite Liturgy', 9.

Chant		Incipit	Sibert	Wro
Service	Prayer			
Noct2	Ant1	Crucifixus surrexit a mortuis		
		Ps. Cum invocarem	38	182
	Ant2	Crucem sanctam subiit qui		
		Ps. Verba mea	38	182
	Ant3	Surgens Jesus		
		Ps. Domine Dominus noster	38	182*
	V	Surrexit Dominus vere	38	183*
	R1	Expurgate vetus fermentum		
		v. Non in fermento malitie	38	183
	R2	Surgens Jesus Dominus noster		
		v. Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro	38	184
	R3	Dum transisset sabbatum		
		v. Et valde mane una sabbatorum	38	184
Noct3	Ant1	Surrexit Dominus de		
		Ps. In Domino confido	38	185**
	Ant2	Surrexit Christus		
		Ps. Domine quis	38	185**
	Ant3	Post passionem		
		Ps. Domine in virtute	38	186**
	V	Surrexit Dominus de sepulcro	38	-
	R1	Angelus Domini descendit	38	186
	R2	Angelus Domini locutus	38	186
	R3	Et valde mane	38	186
	V	In resurrectione tua Christe	38	186
Lauds	Ant1	Angelus autem Domini		
		Ps. Dominus regnavit	38	186
	H	Sermone blande	38	186*
	V	Gavisi sunt discipuli	38	186*
	Ben	Et valde		
		Ps. Benedictus	38	186*
2Vesp	Ant1	Angelus autem		
		Ps. Dixit Dominus	39	186*
	R	Et valde mane	39	186*
	H	Ad cenam agni	39	186*
	V	Mane nobiscum Domine	39	186*
	Mag	Et respicientes		
		Ps. Magnificat	39	186*

**opening initial only; the rest of the chant is palimpsest text

Commons of the Saints. Liturgical books for Mass and Office contain a section of prayers and chants for saints by category rather than by individual feast. Organized according to the type of saint being celebrated, thus, apostles, martyrs, virgin martyrs, virgins, and so on, these liturgies provide a fund of chants to be used for liturgical feasts whose rank does not warrant a complete proper office or where no other chants are available. The chants from the common thus refer to the saint in general rather than specific terms, often leaving a space in the text for the name of the particular saint to be inserted. These common chants are standard in all western rites but have slight particularities in the Carmelite tradition. For example, the Carmelites observed the common of a holy woman (*matrona*), a common which is not found in most other traditions, in addition to the common of virgins. Furthermore many of the common celebrations for saints arrange the chants differently in the Carmelite tradition than in other usages. Thus, for instance, the common of several martyrs is a standard feature of most rites. If we compare the Carmelite ordinal of Sibert against the Franciscan ordinal of Haymo for the second nocturn of Matins, for example, the Franciscans chanted the three antiphons, 'Dabo sanctis meis', 'Sanctis qui in terra', and 'Sancti qui sperant', followed by the versicle 'Exultent iusti' and respond 'Et delectentur'; the great responsories after the three readings are 'Sancti tui domine / v. Quoniam percussit petram', 'Verbera carnificum / v Tradiderunt', and 'Tamquam aurum / v. Qui confidunt'.[61] The Carmelites used the same antiphons, but with the responsories 'Sancti tui Domine / v. Victricem', 'Verbera carnificum / v. Immania' and 'Haec est vera / v. Ecce quam bonum'.[62] Thus for the first two responsories the Carmelite verse is different from Franciscan usage and the Carmelites use an entirely different third responsory from the Franciscans. This kind of difference in liturgical detail between Carmelite and Franciscan usages also characterizes the differences between Carmelite practice and that of other orders and dioceses, rendering the Carmelite celebration of commons of the saints in Kraków different from the rites of the surrounding churches, either those following the rites of other religious orders or of the diocese of Kraków.

The Sanctoral Cycle. The medieval liturgy encouraged the celebration of feasts for saints whose veneration was important to a given diocese or religious order, with the result that a great deal of variety occurred from one tradition to

[61] *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, ed. by van Dijk, II, 177.

[62] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 275.

another. Within this variety from one diocese to another, we have seen in Chapter 2 that for the mendicant orders, including the Carmelites, standardizing liturgical practices and celebrating the same feasts, were matters of great importance. Furthermore, such uniformity of celebration necessarily internationalized the given feast for all the order's convents. The cult of Thomas of Canterbury, for instance, was important enough that his liturgy was celebrated throughout Europe,[63] including in the liturgies of the medieval orders and many dioceses. Since few saints enjoyed such spontaneous popularity, the mendicant participation in this phenomenon was hardly extraordinary. The adoption of lesser known saints' feasts into a mendicant liturgy, however, instantly guaranteed their celebration on an international level; this was particularly important for the Franciscans and Dominicans in celebrating their founders and newly canonized saints. The Carmelites, however, who had no recognizable founder and whose arrival into the mendicant framework was late enough to preclude having any proper saints to celebrate during most of the medieval period, relied instead on feasts of the Virgin Mary and on events and personages associated with the Holy Land to formulate their liturgical self-understanding in the absence of their own proper saints. Thus our Table 4 compares the Carmelite calendar of saints against several other traditions to show the uniqueness of their liturgy. Specifically it demonstrates how the feasts observed by the Kraków Carmelites followed the order's established tradition as represented by the ordinal of Sibert de Beka and often differed from Dominican, Franciscan and Kraków diocesan rites. Appreciating these differences enables us to understand the 'flourishing of divine worship' referred to by Boniface IX in his bull of confirmation establishing the Carmelites in Kraków, which we discussed in Chapter 1.

Thus our Table 4 lists the date and feast for the entire calendar year and compares the relevant traditions as follows: the *siglum* <u>CarK</u> lists the manuscript number for the Kraków Carmelite codex and folio or page number where a given feast is found; the next column (<u>Sibert</u>) gives the page in the published Carmelite ordinal of Sibert de Beka where the chants for the feast are

[63] Raymonde Foreville, 'Le culte de Saint Thomas Becket en Normandie, Enquête sur les sanctuaires anciennement placés sous le vocable du martyr de Canterbury', in *Thomas Becket: Actes du colloque international de Sédières, 19-24 août 1973* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1975), pp. 135–52; Medard Barth, 'Zum Kult des hl. Thomas Becket im deutschen Sprachgebiet, in Skandinavien und Italien', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv*, 80 (1960), 97–166; Kay Brainerd Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

listed; the column Kra1 gives the folio number where the feast can be found in the MS Kraków, Jagellonian University Library, MS 1255, a Kraków diocesan breviary (without music) dating to around 1400;[64] the column Kra2 gives the folio number where the feast can be found in the MS Kraków, Jagellonian University Library, MS 1267, a fifteenth-sixteenth-century Gradual which also includes some offices and which is important to our study in terms of the saints it includes rather than the type of chant used to celebrate them;[65] the column OP lists the page reference to the feast in the calendar as established by Humbert of Romans in 1256;[66] the column OFM lists the page reference in the published ordinal of Haymo of Faversham;[67] the column HS^1 illustrates the published calendar of feasts from the Holy Sepulchre rite as used in the manuscript Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 477, the oldest of the Holy Sepulchre sources discussed by Cristina Dondi, dating to *c.* 1130-*c.* 1140[68] and in HS^5, Vatican City, Vatican Library, MS Barberini 659, a twelfth-century ordinal for the rite of the Holy Sepulchre.[69]

[64] The manuscript is described in *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Medii Aevi Latinorum qui in Bibliotheca Jagellonica Cracoviae Asservantur, vii: Numeros continens inde a 1191 usque ad 1270*, ed. by Maria Kowalczyk and others (Cracoviae: Bibliotheca Jagellonica, Officina Editoria 'Księgarnia Akademicka', 2000), pp. 274–78.

[65] The manuscript is described in *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum*, ed. by Maria Kowalczyk, and others, vii, 326–35.

[66] Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy*.

[67] *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy*, ed. by van Dijk, ii.

[68] Dondi points out that Hugo Buchthal dated this manuscript to *c.* 1140; she sides with T. S. R. Boase and Jaroslav Folda who date the manuscript to c. 1130: Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 61 for this discussion; also cf. T. S. R. Boase, *Kingdoms and Strongholds of the Crusaders* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), p. 98 and Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 100–04. Since she uses this manuscript as the basis for comparison of feasts against all the others in her book, it serves well here too.

[69] Dondi points out (*Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre* p. 64 n. 6) that Pierre Salmon dates the manuscript to the twelfth century while Victor Saxer and Paschalis [Arie] Kallenberg give the more precise date of 1160. We keep the same numbering, HS^5, as Dondi uses in her book to eliminate possible confusion. The manuscript has the advantage of being used by Dondi and also in *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, for comparison purposes. The comparative calendar of the Carmelite and Holy Sepulchre rites is found in *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, pp. 367–70.

Table 4: The Carmelite Calendar of Saints in Comparison with Other Traditions

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^{1}	HS^{5}
Jan.	1	Circumcision	2:64; 5:44^{v}	126			100	39	X	39
	2	Octave of St Stephen		127			100	40	X	40
	3	Octave of St John		127			100	41	X	40
	4	Octave of the Holy Innocents		127			100	41	X	40
	5	Vigil of Epiphany	2:70^{v}; 5:49	128				41		41
	6	Epiphany	2:71; 5:49^{v}	129			100	42	X	41
	7									
	8									
	9									
	10	St Paul the Hermit					100			
	11	Higinius						123		
	12									
	13	Sts Hilary and Remigius		131			100		X	43
	14	St Felix		132	311^{v}		100	123	X	43
	15	St Maur		206			100		X	46^{v}
	16	St Marcellus		206			100	123	X	46^{v}
		St Marcellinus			311^{v}					
	17	St Anthony, ab.		206			100	123		
	18	St Prisca		206	312		100	124	X	46^{v}
	19	St Henry (of Uppsala?)	1:393	-				124		
		Sts Marius, Martha, Audifac, & Habacuc								
	20	Sts Fabian & Sebastian	2:217; 5:104	206	312		100	124	X	47

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^{1}	HS^{5}
Jan	21	St Agnes	2:224; 5:109	207	313^{v}	121	100	124	X	47^{v}
	22	St Vincent	2:231; 5:113^{v}	208	315^{v}		125		X	48
		Sts Vincent & Anastasius								
	23	St Emerantia					100	125		
	24	St Timothy		209	315^{v}				X	49
	25	Conversion of St Paul	2:239; 5:119	209	315^{v}		100	126	X	49
		St Prejectus		209					X	49
	26	St Polycarp		210			100			
	27	St Julian		210					X	49^{v}
		St John Chrysostom								X[1]
	28	2nd Agnes		210	319^{v}		100	127	X	49^{v}
	29									
	30	St Matthias		210					X	49^{v}
	31									
Feb.	1	St Ignatius		211			101			49^{v}
		St Brigid			319^{v}					
	2	Purification of BVM	2:248; 5:124	211	319^{v}		101	127	X	50
	3	St Blaise		213	322^{v}		101	129		51
		St Ansgar	1:395							
	4	Anniversary of fathers & mothers					101			
	5	St Agatha	2:256; 5:129^{v}	213	323^{v}		101	129	X	51
	6	Sts Vedast & Amand		214			101			51^{v}
		St Dorothy			325	115^{v}				
	7									
	8									

Date	Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^{1}	HS^{5}
Feb. 9									
10	St Scholastica	214		327^{v}		101		X	51^{v}
11									
12									
13									
14	St Valentine	214		327^{v}		101	130	X	51v
15	St Sigfridus	1:396							
16	St Juliana			328^{v}					
17									
18	St Simeon		214					X	51^{v}
19									
20									
21									
22	Chair of St Peter	2:263; 5:133^{v}	214	328^{v}		101	130	X	51^{v}
23	Vigil of St Matthew							X	
24	St Matthew		215	330		101	131	X	52^{v}
25									
26									
27									
28	Reconditio Augustini							X	
March 1	St Albinus		216			102		X	52^{v}
2									
3									
4									

Date	Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS[1]	HS[5]
March 5									
6									
7	Sts Perpetua & Felicity		216				131		52ᵛ
8									
9									
10									
11	Forty Holy Martyrs		216				131		52ᵛ
12	St Gregory, Pope		216	331ᵛ		102	131	X	52ᵛ
13									
14									
15									
16									
17	St Patrick		216						
	St Gertrude			333ᵛ					
18	St Alexander		217					X	53
19									
20									
21	St Benedict		216	333ᵛ		102	132	X	53
22									
23									
24									
25	Annunciation	5:136x	216	334ᵛ		102	132	X	53ᵛ
	Crucifixio Christi et Immolatio Ysaac							X	
26									

Date	Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^1	HS^5
March 27	Resurrectio Domini							X	X^1
28									
29									
30									
31									
April 1									
2									
3									
4	St Ambrose		219	336^v		103		X	X^1
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									
11	St Leo								X^1
12									
13	St Eufemia								X^1
14	Sts Tiburtius & Valerian		220	337^v					81^v
	Sts Tiburtius, Valerian, & Maximus					103	133	X	
15									
16									
17	St Anicetus						133		

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^1	HS^5
April	18									
	19									
	20	St Victor								X[1]
	21									
	22	St Sotheris & Caius						133		
	23	St George		221		121^v	103	135	X	82
		St Adalbert	1:370; 3:195^v		339					
	24									
	25	St Mark	1:10	221	340^v		103	135	X	82
	26	Sts Cletus & Marcellianus						136		
		St Anacletus						150		
	27									
	28	St Vitalis		222	341		103	136	X	82
	29	St Peter martyr			341^v		103			
	30	Vigil of Sts Philip & James							X	
May	1	Sts Philip & James	1:13; 3:85	222	342	122	104	136	X	83^v
	2	St Athanasius		223					X	84^v
	3	Finding of Holy Cross	1:17; 3:86	223	342^v	124	104	137	X	84^v
		St Alexander & companions			343				X	84^v
	4	Holy Crown					104			
		St Quiriacus		224					X	85
		St Florian	1:372		344					
	5									
	6	St John ante Portam Latinam	1:28; 3:90	225	344^v		104	138	X	85

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^1	HS^5
May	7	St Stanislaus (Kraków)	1:372; 3:196^v		345	99;117				
	8	Apparition of St Michael						139		
	9									
	10	Sts Gordian & Epimachus		225	345		104	140	X	85^v
	11									
	12	Sts Nereus & Achilleus		225						
		Sts Nereus, Achilleus, & Pancratius			345^v		104	140	X	85^v
	13	S. Marie ad Martires							X	
	14									
	15									
	16									
	17									
	18	St Eric	1:394							
	19	St Potentiana					104	140		
	20	St Eustasius								
		Entrance of Noah into the Ark							X	
	21									
	22									
	23	Translation of St Dominic					104			
	24									
	25	St Urban		225	345^v		104	141	X	85^v
		Three Marys	3:90							
		Translation of St Francis						140		
	26									

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^1	HS^5
May	27	St John						141		
	28									
	29									
	30	St Felix						141		
		St Eleutherius						141		
	31	St Petronilla					104	141		
June	1	St Nicomedis		225					X	
	2	Sts Marcellinus & Peter		225			105	141	X	96^v
	3									
	4									
	5	St Boniface & companions						140		
	6									
	7									
	8	Sts Medard & Gildard		226			105			96^v
	9	Sts Primus & Felician		226			105	141	X	96^v
	10									
	11	St Barnabas		226			105	141	X	96^v
	12	Sts Basilides, Cyrinus, Nabor, Nazarius, & Celsus		226			105	141	X	97
		St Eskil	1:397							
	13	St Anthony						142		
	14	St Eliseus	1:374; 3:192^v							
	15	Sts Vitus, Modestus, & Crescentia		226				143		97
		Sts Vitus & Modestus					105			

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^{1}	HS^{5}
June	16	Sts Quiricus & Julitta					105			?
	17									
	18	Sts Mark & Marcellian		226			105	143	X	97
	19	Sts Gervase & Protase		226			105	143	X	97
	20	St Silverius						143		
	21									
	22	St Paulinus		227				143	X	97
	23	Vigil St John Baptist		227			105	143	X	97
	24	St John the Baptist	1:29; 3:93^{v}	227		199	105	144	X	97
	25									
	26	Sts John & Paul	1:42; 3:99	228			105	145	X	98
	27									
	28	St Leo		230			105	146		99
		Vigil Sts Peter & Paul		230				146	X	99
	29	Sts Peter & Paul	1:47; 3:100^{v}	230			105	146	X	99
		St Olaf	1:399							
	30	Commemoration of St Paul	1:64; 3:106	231			105	148	X	99v
July	1	Octave of St John Baptist		232			106	149	X	100
	2	Visitation	1:77; 3:111			89				
		Sts Processus & Martinian					106	149	X	100^{v}
	3									
	4	Translation of St Martin		233					X	100^{v}
	5									
	6	Octave of Sts Peter & Paul		234			106	149	X	100^{v}

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^1	HS^5
July	7									
	8									
	9									
	10	Seven Brothers		234			106	150	X	101
	11	St Pius						150		
		Translation of St Benedict							X	X
	12	Sts Nabor & Felix						150		
	13	St Birgitta	1:401							
	14									
	15	Capture of Jerusalem								101
		Festivitas Hierusalem							X	
		Dedication of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre								102
		Divisio Apostolorum	1:374			128^v				
	16	St Eustachius								X[1]
	17	St Marina								X[1]
	18	St Symphorosa & 7 Sons						150		
	19									
	20	St Margaret		234		92	106			103
		St Elias	1:382; 3:190							
	21	St Praxedes		234			106	150	X	103
	22	St Mary Magdalene	1:81; $3:114^v$	234		129^v	106	150	X	103
	23	St Apollinaris		235			106	151	X	103
	24	St Christina					106	151		?
		Vigil St James		236					X	103

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^{1}	HS^{5}
July	25	St James		236			106	151	X	103^{v}
		Sts Christopher & Cucufas					106		X	103^{v}
	26	St Anne	1:94; 3:117	236	453^{v}					
	27	St Martha		236						
	28	St Pantaleon						152		X^{1}
		Sts Nazarius, Celsus & Pantaleon					106			
		Sts Nazarius, Celsus, Victor, & Innocent						152		
		St Botuidus	1:398							
	29	Sts Felix, Simplicius, Faustinus, & Beatrice		236			106	152	X	103^{v}
		Octave of St Mary Magdalene		236						
	30	Sts Abdon & Sennen		237			106	152	X	103^{v}
	31	St Germanus		237			106		X	103^{v}
		St Helen of Skövde	1:400							
Aug.	1	St Peter in Chains	1:108; 3:122	237			107	152	X	103^{v}
		Holy Maccabees		237			107		X	103^{v}
	2	St Stephen		237			107	153	X	104
	3	Finding of Stephen		237			107	153	X	104
	4									
	5	St Dominic		238			107	153		
		Our Lady of the Snows	1:101							
	6	Transfiguration	1:123; 3:122^{v}	238					X	104
		Sts Sixtus, Felicissimus, & Agapitus		238			107	153	X	104

Date	Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^{1}	HS^{5}
Aug. 7	St Donatus		239			107	153	X	104^{v}
	St Albert of Sicily	1:387							
8	St Cyriacus & companions		239			107		X	104^{v}
	Sts Cyriacus, Largus, & Smaragdus						154		X^{1}
9	St Romanus						154		
	Vigil St Lawrence		239				154	X	104^{v}
10	St Lawrence	1:126; 3:123^{v}	239		132^{v}	107	154	X	104^{v}
11	St Tiburtius	1:139; 3:128^{v}	240			107		X	105
	Sts Tiburtius & Susanna						155		
12	Octave of St Dominic					107			
13	St Hippolytus & companions	1:140; 3:128^{v}	240			107	155	X	105
14	St Eusebius		241			107	155	X	105^{v}
	Vigil Assumption		241				155	X	105^{v}
15	Assumption of BVM	1:145; 3:130	241		94	107	156	X	105^{v}
16									
17	Octave of St Lawrence		244			107		X	107
18	St Agapitus		244			107	157	X	107
19									
20	St Bernard of Clairvaux								X^{1}
21									
22	Octave of Assumption		245			107	157	X	107
	Sts Timothy & Symphorian					107		X	107
	Sts Timothy, Hippolytus, & Symphorian						157		

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^1	HS^5
Aug.	23	St Zacchaeus, Bishop of Jerusalem		245					X	107^v
		Vigil St Bartholomew		245					X	107^v
	24	St Bartholomew		245			107	158	X	107^v
	25	St Louis		246						
	26	St Zephyrinus						158		
		St Bernard of Clairvaux		244			107			107^v
		St Rufus		246			107			107^v
	27	Sts Rufus & Julian							X	
	28	St Augustine	1:164; $3:136^v$	246			107	158	X	107^v
		St Hermetis		246					X	107^v
	29	Beheading of St John Baptist	1:184; $3:143^v$	247			107	159	X	108^v
		St Sabina		247			107		X	108^v
	30	Sts Felix & Audactus		247			107	159	X	108^v
	31									
Sept.	1	St Egidius		247			108		X	109
		Twelve Brothers						159		
		St Priscus								X[1]
	2									
	3									
	4	Octave of St Augustine					108		X	
		St Marcellus					108			
	5	Anniversary of familiares & benefactors OP					108			
	6									

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^{1}	HS^{5}
Sept.	7	Vigil Nativity BVM						160		
	8	Nativity of BVM	1:192; 3:145^{v}	248		97	108	160	X	109
		St Adrian		248					X	109
		Dedication of the Church of the Finding of the Holy Cross								109^{v}
	9	St Gorgonius		249			108	161	X	110
	10	Sts Protus & Hyacinth		249			108	161	X	110
	11									
	12									
	13	St Maurilius		249					X	110
	14	Exaltation of Holy Cross	1:208; 3:150^{v}	249			108	161	X	110
		Sts Cornelius & Cyprian		249			108		X	110
		St Ludmila	1:213							
	15	Octave of Nativity of BVM		250			108			110^{v}
		St Nicomedis		250			108	162	X	110^{v}
	16	Sts Lucy, Geminianus, & Eufemia						163		
		St Eufemia		251			108		X	110^{v}
	17	St Lambert		251			108			110^{v}
	18									
	19									
	20	St Eustace & companions						163		
		Vigil St Matthew		251			108		X	110^{v}
		St Fausta								X^{1}
	21	St Matthew	1:229	251			108	163	X	110^{v}

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^1	HS^5
Sept.	22	St Maurice & companions		252			108	163	X	111
	23	St Linus						163		
		St Thecla								X^1
	24									
	25	St Cleophas		253					X	111^v
	26	Sts Cyprian & Justina						163		
	27	Sts Cosmas & Damian		253			108	163	X	111^v
	28	St Wenceslaus	1:245; 3:198		409					
	29	St Michael the Archangel	1:260; 3:152	253	135^v		108	163	X	111^v
	30	St Jerome	$3:156^v$	254			108	165	X	112
		Anniversary of brothers, families, & benefactors		254						
Oct.	1	St Remigius					109	165		
		Sts Remigius, Germanus, Vedastus, & Bavo		255						
		Sts Germanus, Remigius, Vedastus, & Amandus								112
		Sts Germanus, Remigius, & Vedastus							X	
	2	St Leodegar		255			109		X	112
	3	Vigil of St Francis						165		
	4	St Francis		255			109	165		X^1
	5	St Apollinaris								X^1
	6	Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, & Jacob	$1:273; 3:156^v$	255					X	112^v
		St Fidis								X^1

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^1	HS^5
Oct.	7	St Mark					109			
		Sts Mark, Sergius, Bacchus, Marcellus, & Apuleius		256			109	167	X	112^v
	8									
	9	St Denis, Rusticus, & Eleutherius	1:284; $3:160^v$	256			109	167	X	113
	10	Anniversary of O.P. brethren					109			
	11	Translation of St Augustine							X	
		St Nicasius & companions								X^1
	12									
	13	St Theophilus, b.								X^1
	14	St Calixtus		257			109	167	X	113^v
	15									
	16									
	17									
	18	St Luke		257			109	167	X	113^v
	19	St Fredewide								113^v
	20									
	21	11,000 Virgins		257		189^v	109			
		St Hilarion						167		
	22	St Mark, bishop		257					X	113^v
	23									
	24									
	25	Sts Crispin & Crispinian		257			109			113^v
		Sts Chrisantus & Daria						167		

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^1	HS^5
Oct.	26	St Evaristus						167		
		St Demetrius, m.								X^1
	27	Vigil Sts Simon & Jude		257					X	113^v
	28	Sts Simon & Jude		257			109	167	X	113^v
	29	St Narcissus, b.		257					X	114
	30	St Serapion, b.								X^1
	31	St Quentin		258			109			114
		Vigil All Saints		257				167	X	114
Nov.	1	All Saints	1:301; 3:166	257		104v	110	168	X	114
		St Cesarius							?	114^v
	2	All Souls		260			110		X	115
		St Eustace & companions								115
	3									
	4	Sts Vitalis & Agricola						169		
	5									
	6	St Leonard		260						116
	7									
	8	Four Crowned Martyrs		260			110	170	X	116
	9	St Theodore		260			110	170	X	116
	10	St Martin, Pope		260				171		116
	11	St Martin of Tours	1:318; 3:171	261		141	110	170	X	116
		St Mennas		261			110		X	116
	12									

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^{1}	HS^{5}
Nov.	13	St Brice	1:335; 3:176^{v}	262			110		X	117
	14									
	15									
	16									
	17									
	18	Octave of St Martin		262			110		X	117
	19	St Elizabeth of Hungary	1:338				110	171		
		St Pontianus						171		
	20	St Edmund	1:352; 3:177^{v}	262						
	21									
	22	St Cecilia	1:352; 3:178	262			110	171	X	117
	23	St Clement	1:364; 3:182	263			110	172	X	118
	24	St Chrysogonus		264			110	172	X	118^{v}
	25	St Catherine	1:370; 3:183^{v}	264		107	110	173	X	118^{v}
		St Peter Alexandrinus		264					X	118^{v}
	26	St Linus		265						
	27	Sts Vitalis & Agricola*					110			
	28									
	29	St Saturninus					110	121	X	118^{v}
		Vigil St Andrew		265				121	X	118^{v}
	30	St Andrew	2:191v	265	301	112^{v}	110	121	X	118^{v}
Dec.	1	St Eligius		266						
	2									
	3									

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^{1}	HS^{5}
Dec.	4	St Barbara		266	304	182			X	119
	5	St Saba, Bishop of Jerusalem		266					X	119
	6	St Nicholas	2:198^{v}; 5:93	266		144^{v}	111	122	X	119
	7	Octave of St Andrew		267			111		X	119
		St Ambrose						122		
	8	Conception/Veneration of Sanctification of BVM	2:206; 5:96^{v}	267	306				X	
	9									
	10	St Melchiadis						122		
	11	St Damasus					111	122		
	12									
	13	St Lucy	2:213^{v}; 5:102	268	309		111	122	X	119^{v}
	14									
	15									
	16									
	17	St Lazarus	2:216^{v};5:103^{v}	269					X	120
	18									
	19									
	20	Vigil of St Thomas							X	120
	21	St Thomas	2:216^{v}; 5:104	269	310^{v}	223	111	123	X	120
	22									
	23									
	24	Vigil of Christmas	2:33^{v};5:16	117				31	X	32
	25	Christmas	2:36;5:18	117			111	32	X	33
		St Anastasia		119						33

Date		Feast	CarK	Sibert	Kra1	Kra2	OP	OFM	HS^1	HS^5
Dec.	26	St Stephen	2:47;5:26^v	120			111	34	X	35
	27	St John the Evangelist	2:55;5:31^v	121			111	35	X	36
	28	Holy Innocents	2:58^v;5:36	122			111	36	X	37
	29	St Thomas of Canterbury	2:605:40	123			111	37		X
	30	De occab. 9 L								X
	31	St Sylvester		125			111		X	39

* The 27 November Carmelite feastday is celebrated on 4 November by Franciscans.

The Calendar in Detail

The Ordinals of the Holy Sepulchre and Sibert de Beka. Table 4, particularly its CarK column, thus corroborates in detail what we have discussed above, namely that the CarK1 and CarK3 cover much of the same material, as do CarK2 and CarK5, in numerous cases giving us two instances of the same chants. The Kraków Carmelite tradition carefully followed the Carmelite rite as prescribed in the archetypal ordinal of Sibert de Beka. Moreover, for proper major feasts the individual chants always agree between the Kraków Carmelite manuscripts and Sibert's ordinal. Where a feast has only a commemoration involving a single prayer or relies on chants from the common it normally merits only a rubric in the antiphonal and may even be omitted completely. Thus a simplification and elimination of rubrics undoubtedly was part of the revision that occurred in the 1740s in Kraków, but much of it probably had already been simplified in the original medieval format of the antiphonals. For instance, the memorial commemoration prescribed for the martyr St Prejectus (25 January)[70] was not included in the antiphonal: since it involved no music, the memorial prayer would simply have been said by whoever was leading the office at the time.

It is not feasible to incorporate the eighteen sources inventoried by Cristina Dondi into this study of Kraków Carmelite manuscripts. While the two Holy Sepulchre sources included here are generally typical of the rite, especially in its early stages when it could influence Carmelite practice, numerous later Holy Sepulchre manuscripts did incorporate extra feasts into their rite. Thus for instance the feast of St Emerentia (25 January), the mother of St Anne, is found in HS^{13}, HS^{14}, and HS^{15}, while a feast for St Emerentiana, probably a variant of the first, occurs in HS^{18}. Similarly the feast of the Visitation (2 July), eventually was incorporated into HS^{8}, HS^{9}, HS^{12}, and HS^{16}.[71] Thus both the Holy Sepulchre rite and the Carmelite liturgy continued to evolve independently during the later Middle Ages through the addition of later feasts.

Sibert's ordinal lists St Matthias (30 January) as 'Jerusalem Matthiae episcopi et confessoris. Tres lect[iones] etc. ut unius episcopi et confessoris',[72] paralleling its celebration in the Holy Sepulchre rite where it also is listed as a

[70] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 209.

[71] Dondi's calendars are found in *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, pp. 255–302.

[72] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 210.

feast of three lessons;[73] since the three lessons are all taken from the common of a confessor bishop and involve no music, there is no need to mention it in the antiphonal itself. Signficantly, Matthias and other bishops of Jerusalem were always identified as such in the ordinal of Sibert, as they were in the Holy Sepulchre manuscripts. Thus feasts which are common to Sibert's ordinal and the rite of the Holy Sepulchre are Sts Prejectus (25 January), Simeon (18 February), Alexander (18 March), Quiriacus (4 May), Zacchaeus (23 August), identified as a bishop of Jerusalem in the Holy Sepulchre manuscripts, Adrian (8 September), Maurilius (13 September), Cleophas (25 September), Mark, Bishop of Jerusalem (22 October), Narcissus, Bishop of Jerusalem (29 October), Leonard (6 November), Saba (5 December), and Anastasia (25 December).[74] Although these commemorations of bishops of Jerusalem and other figures associated with either the Latin Kingdom or the biblical Holy Land were obviously minor celebrations, they nonetheless maintained a tangible link between the Carmelite liturgy and the parent rite of the Holy Sepulchre. Other Holy Sepulchre feasts, such as the dedication of the Church of the finding of the Holy Cross (8 September),[75] the entrance of Noah into the ark (20 May) and his exit from the ark (27 April), evidently were no longer considered relevant to the Carmelite tradition, since Sibert did not incorporate them into his ordinal. While the Carmelites celebrated the feast of St Augustine in their liturgy, the related feasts concerning him such as the *Reconditio Augustini* (28 February) or the translation of St Augustine (11 October) never became part of the Carmelite tradition. Similarly a feast such as the translation of St Benedict, celebrated in HS^1 and HS^5 on 11 July, never became part of the Carmelite tradition. The feasts of St Patrick and St Gertrude are not found in our two primary Holy Sepulchre sources, but do occur in HS^4 and HS^{16}. The feast of the English king Edward (5 January) is found in HS^4 and HS^5,[76] and

[73] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 367 discusses this, based on H^5, the Vatican Library, MS Barberini 659, fol. 49, where the feast of St Matthias is listed as having three lessons.

[74] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 209 (Prejectus), p. 214 (Simeon), p. 217 (Alexander), p. 224 (Quiriacus), p. 245 (Zacchaeus), p. 248 (Adrian), p. 249 (Maurilius), p. 253 (Cleophas), p. 257 (Mark), p. 258 (Narcissus), p. 260 Leonard), p. 266 (Saba), and p. 119 (Anastasia).

[75] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 369.

[76] As discussed by Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*; *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, does not include it in the comparative calendar.

Edmund (20 November) occurs in Carmelite sources and in the Holy Sepulchre manuscript HS^{4} and is mentioned in the litany of HS^{12}. Dondi maintains that these two English saints should be viewed in terms of a northern French context when interpreting HS^{12}, Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 323.[77] The Carmelites, though, had a strong English presence in the thirteenth century, so that the presence of English saints in Carmelite manuscripts probably derives more from this context than from a Holy Sepulchre connection. Conversely the feast of St Elijah (Elias, 20 July), which the Carmelites eventually developed as their own proper feast, was also included in HS^{16}, suggesting that the Carmelite rite (or, of course, Elijah's cult) may eventually have influenced Holy Sepulchre practices. The feast of the Resurrection (*Resurrectio Domini*), assigned to 27 March in HS^{1} and HS^{5}, obviously celebrates the Easter event as a proper feast; it is not clear whether this specific feast developed into the Carmelite Commemoration of the Resurrection or whether the two are independent interpretations of the same event.

This calendar demonstrates that the Holy Sepulchre liturgy influenced the Carmelite rite, and also shows that by the time of Sibert's ordinal the Carmelite rite had already begun to preserve and disseminate the Holy Sepulchre rite in a distinctive fashion throughout much of western Europe.

The Kraków Carmelite Liturgy and the Ordinal of Sibert. As Table 4 demonstrates, for the vast majority of feasts the Kraków Carmelites faithfully adhered to the prescriptions of Sibert's ordinal. The principal differences between the chants stipulated by Sibert and those found in CarK involve feasts which either entered the Carmelite liturgy after the time of Sibert's ordinal or were added by a later hand in the eighteenth-century revision of the manuscripts. The feasts added to the Carmelite rite during the course of the fourteenth century are the Three Marys (25 May) by the Chapter of Lyon in 1342[78] and the three Marian feasts, the Presentation (21 November), Visitation (2 July), and Our Lady of the Snows (5 August) by the Chapter of Frankfurt in 1393.[79] Feasts added to the codices in an obviously later eighteenth-century hand are Sts Henry (probably of Uppsala, 19 January), Ansgar (3 February), Adalbert (23 April), Florian (4 May), Stanislaus (7 May), Eric (18 May), Eskil

[77] Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 84.

[78] Zimmerman, *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana*, I, 141.

[79] *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, ed. by Wessels, I, 109–10.

(12 June), Eliseus (14 June), Olaf (29 June), Birgitta (13 July), Divisio Apostolorum (15 July), Elias (20 July), Botuidus (28 July), Helen (of Skövde, 31 July), Albert of Sicily (7 August), and Elizabeth of Hungary (19 November). These later additions reflect Swedish influence (Ansgar, Eric, Eskil, Olaf, Birgitta, Botuidus, and Helen), local Kraków influence (Adalbert, Florian), and the properly Carmelite saints whose cults developed in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Eliseus, Elias, Albert). In addition the offices of St Ludmila (14 September) and St Wenceslaus (28 September) written in the original 1397 hand, clearly reflect the devotions of the founding Carmelites from Prague, although Wenceslaus was also venerated in the Kraków diocesan tradition.[80]

The Carmelite and Franciscan Liturgies. While the feast of St Francis of Assisi (4 October) was common to Carmelite, Franciscan, and Dominican traditions, its vigil was celebrated only by the Franciscans. The Carmelites never adopted the rhymed offices written by the Franciscan Julian of Speyer for the feasts of St Francis of Assisi and St Anthony of Padua.[81] Nor were the later offices of St Clare and the Holy Trinity, whose music followed that of St Francis,[82] ever celebrated in the Carmelite rite. Specifically Franciscan feasts such as Sts Marius, Martha, Audifac, and Habacuc (19 January), Anicetus (17 April), Sotherius and Caius (22 April), Cletus and Marcellinus (26 April)), Felix (30 May), Eleutherius (30 May), Anthony of Padua (13 June), Silverius (20 June), and Symphorosa and her seven sons (18 July) were generally restricted to Franciscan celebration, as was the addition of Maximus to the feast of Tiburtius and Valerian (14 April). The feasts of the apparition of St Michael (8 May) and of St Boniface and companions (5 June) were shared by other rites, but did not influence Carmelite practice.

[80] The feast of the translation of St Wenceslaus occurs on fol. 331 of a fifteenth-century Kraków breviary, Kraków, Jagellonian Library, MS 1255 (Kra1), and follows the liturgy for his *dies natalis*, celebrated as a *duplex* feast beginning on fol. 409.

[81] *S. Francisci Assisiensis et S. Antonii Patavini Officia Rhythmica*, ed. by Hilarinus Felder, O.M.Cap. (Freiburg: Apud Bibliopolam Universitatis, 1901).

[82] Owain Tudor Edwards discusses this question in 'Chant Transference in Rhymed Offices',*Cantus Planus, Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3-8 September 1990*, ed. by László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Musicology, 1992), pp. 503–19 (pp. 510–11).

The Carmelite and Dominican Liturgies. While Dominicans played a role in the redaction of the Carmelite rule in 1247,[83] and while the office of St Dominic (5 August) was common to Franciscan, Dominican, and Carmelite liturgies, our Table 4 illustrates that the Carmelites generally maintained a distinct tradition from the Dominicans. In particular, they never adopted the rhymed offices used for specifically Dominican feasts[84] such as Dominic (5 August), his octave (12 August), the Crown of Thorns (4 May), or Peter Martyr (29 April), nor did they celebrate the feast of St Paul the Hermit (10 January).

The Carmelite and the Kraków Diocesan Traditions. While the feasts contained in the two diocesan Kraków sources we have examined are necessarily limited, they nevertheless suffice to demonstrate the independence of the Kraków Carmelites from the local diocesan tradition, despite the proximity of the diocesan churches of St Florian and St Mary to the Carmelite convent. The Kraków tradition celebrated Sts Dorothy (6 February), Juliana (16 February), Gertrude (17 March), and Wenceslaus (28 September); since the feast of St Wenceslaus was part of CarK1 from its composition in Prague, it reflects Bohemian rather than Polish influence. Proper Kraków diocesan feasts such as Adalbert (23 April), Florian (4 May), and Stanislaus (7 May) were only included in the Carmelite antiphonals at the time of their eighteenth-century revision. Thus despite the presence of some feasts common to Kraków diocesan and Carmelite traditions, the two rites essentially remained independent of each other.

Our Table 4 thus confirms the consistency of Kraków Carmelite liturgical practices with general Carmelite observance as defined by the ordinal of Sibert de Beka of 1312. Feasts shared in common between the Carmelite rite and the rite of the Holy Sepulchre reminded the Carmelites of the spiritual connection between the two rites while at the same time enabling them to appreciate the distinctive nature of their own liturgical tradition which they had progressively developed after becoming an international mendicant order. While the

[83] These Dominicans are Cardinal Hugh of Saint-Cher and William, Bishop of Antarados, appointed by Innocent IV to revise and mitigate the text of the Albertine Rule: Edwards, 'Introduction', p. 24.

[84] Marcy J. Epstein discusses some of these offices in the Dominican tradition in '*Ludovicus decus regnantium*: Perspectives on the Rhymed Office', *Speculum*, 53 (1978), 283–334.

mendicant movement gave structure to the Carmelite way of life and enjoined on them the communal chanting of the Office, the influence of the other mendicant orders, such as the Dominicans and Franciscans, upon the Carmelite liturgy was not substantial, especially in the proper feasts which they celebrated. A similar situation applies to the Kraków diocesan tradition: the Carmelites formed an important part of the religious and social life of Kraków but generally remained impervious to the liturgical celebration of Polish saints, including Stanislaus and Adalbert. As a result the Kraków Carmelites, in maintaining a separate liturgical tradition, contributed in a distinctive way to the variety of worship in Kraków, thereby fulfilling Boniface IX's mention of the 'flourishing of divine worship' in his letter of apostolic confirmation.

Part III: Feasts in the Carmelite Rite

The organization of the sanctoral cycle in these Kraków codices is consistent with such organization in other sets of Carmelite choir books from Pisa (1312–42),[85] Florence (1390s),[86] and Mainz (1430s)[87] and is representative of the Carmelite liturgy in general.[88] Having established the shape of the Kraków Carmelite liturgy, we now discuss these Carmelite feasts more systematically under the following categories: A) the Holy Land; B) the Virgin Mary; C) St Mary Magdalene; D) the Cross of Jesus; E) Sts Peter and Paul; F) rhymed and metrical offices; G) the Bohemian tradition; and H) St Anne and the Three Marys.

[85] Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, pp. 228–30, 244–47; Boyce, 'Two Antiphonals of Pisa', pp. 147–65.

[86] Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, pp. 230–36, 247–56; Boyce, 'The Carmelite Choirbooks of Florence', pp. 115–50.

[87] The contents of these manuscripts have been published electronically at the CANTUS website of the University of Western Ontario, <http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/> [24 January 2007]. See Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, pp. 240–41, 256–59; Boyce, 'Die Mainzer Karmeliterchorbücher', 267–303.

[88] James Boyce, O. Carm., 'Medieval Carmelite Office Manuscripts: A Liturgical Inventory', *Carmelus*, 33 (1986), 17–34; James Boyce, O. Carm., 'The Medieval Carmelite Office Tradition', *Acta Musicologica*, 62 (1990), 119–51; and James Boyce, O. Carm., 'The Liturgy of the Carmelites', *Carmelus*, 43 (1996), 5–41 (repr. in James Boyce, O. Carm., *Praising God in Carmel: Studies in Carmelite Liturgy* (Washington, D.C.: The Carmelite Institute, 1999), pp. 1-45).

The Holy Land

St Simeon. A unique feature of the Carmelite and Holy Sepulchre liturgies as discussed above is the veneration of bishops of Jerusalem during the period of the Latin Kingdom, such as St Simeon, listed on folio 133v of CarK5 as a bishop and martyr. While no proper chants are prescribed for him, his presence in this liturgical codex, made so long afer the Carmelites' departure from the Holy Land, is indicative of the Carmelite ties to the parent Holy Sepulchre liturgy and is a unique feast among western traditions.

St Cleophas (25 September). In addition to bishops of Jerusalem, personages associated with the Holy Land and the ministry of Our Lord such as Cleophas, celebrated with a feast on 25 September, and added by a later hand on page 247 of CarK1, were important to the Carmelite liturgy, which honoured him as a disciple and as a martyr. Thus Sibert's ordinal prescribed the celebration of the feast with three lessons from the common of a martyr ('III lect[iones]. etc. ut unius martyris')[89] and with proper chants 'Qui sunt hi' for the Magnificat and 'Tu solus peregrinus' for the Benedictus, the same as are used for Easter Monday.[90] While the CANTUS index has numerous instances of both these incipits, their use for the feast of St Cleophas is restricted to Carmelite practice.

Considerable confusion surrounds the name and hence the feast of St Cleophas, usually identified as one of the two disciples to whom the Lord appeared on the road to Emmaus as described in Luke 24. 18.[91] In this interpretation the feast then relates directly to the resurrection of Jesus and fits in with the resurrection theology so central to the Holy Sepulchre and Carmelites liturgies, since in the Lucan account the eyes of the disciples were eventually opened to understand that Jesus had truly risen from the dead. As a disciple of the Lord it is certainly plausible that he was also a martyr, but this

[89] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 253.

[90] Sibert's ordinal states: 'Has antiphonas require in crastino Paschae': *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 253.

[91] A. Lefrançois, 'Cleopas', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, III, 801 for a discussion of Cleophas. See also the discussion for his feast of 25 September in *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur: vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur quae ex latinis et Graecis, aliarumque gentium antiquis monumentis collegit, digessit, notis illustravit Joannes Bollandus [. . .]; servata primagenia scriptorum phrasi: operam et studium contulit Godefridus Henschenius [. . .]*, ed. by Joanne Carnandet, new edn (Paris: Palm, 1867), XLVII (Septembris, VII), 4–9.

belongs more to Church tradition than to verifiable fact. It is also possible that Cleophas is the same name as Clopas, whose wife, identified in John 19. 25 as 'Mary of Clopas', is then usually considered one of the sisters of the Virgin Mary. A less likely possibility is that Cleopas is one of the later husbands of St Anne and hence the father of Mary of Cleophas, associated with the feast of the Three Marys to be discussed below; this is much less plausible since it would make him at least a generation older than Jesus and therefore not likely to be his disciple. While considerable confusion surrounds the feast, Cleophas probably figured in the Carmelite liturgy because of his association with the resurrection of the Lord.

Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (6 October). The Carmelite liturgy, following the tradition of the Holy Sepulchre rite, honoured the Hebrew patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as saints with a proper feast on 6 October. As preeminent personages in the tradition of the Hebrew scriptures the partiarchs are integral to the story of Israel and therefore prominent in liturgies honouring the Holy Land. Venerating as Catholic saints three people who were never baptized nonetheless posed a problem, one which required justification in the prayers of the liturgy itself. The rationale for the feast is probably best illustrated in its Gospel, as contained in two Carmelite missals, now Paris, BnF, lat. 884[92] and Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 428;[93] in this Matthaean text, Matthew 22. 32,[94] Jesus cites the text from Exodus 3. 6, 'I am the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob', to establish the validity of bodily resurrection in answering the Sadducees who posed the question to him in the Gospel account. In asserting that God is a God of the living Jesus also maintains that the present tense of God's statement ('I am') means that the patriarchs, too, are still alive, thereby establishing their resurrection. Thus in the Matthaean account the patriarchs serve as vehicles to proclaim the resurrection. Since proclaiming the resurrection was also a primary aim of the Carmelite liturgy, this justified venerating the patriarchs as saints. The inclusion of this feast in the Holy Sepulchre rite may also be related to the discovery of their reported remains by

[92] Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, pp. 118–20; Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, II, 214–16.

[93] The contents of this manuscript are listed in Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, pp. 124–25; cf. Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, II, 304–05.

[94] Scriptural citations are taken from *The New American Bible*.

the canons of Hebron under their church in 1119.[95] Table 5 shows the chants for this feast in Sibert's ordinal, CarK1 and CarK3. The Invitatory antiphon, 'Regem patriarcharum dominum', does not occur in any non-Carmelite sources in the CANTUS database, presumably because the other rites did not honour the patriarchs in their liturgies. In addition to this piece, the responsory 'Et valde mane' with its verse 'In resurrectione tua Christe', as well as the Benedictus antiphon 'Et valde mane', reinforce the theme of resurrection. All of these pieces have counterparts in *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* of Hesbert and none are unique to the Carmelite liturgy, but their organization into a specific feast is unique to the Carmelite and Holy Sepulchre liturgies.

Table 5: Feast of the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob

Chant		Incipit	Sibert	CarK1	CarK3
Service	Prayer				
1Vesp	R	Dum staret Abraham			
		v. Tunc quippe	255	273*	156[v]*
	H	Annuae Christe	255	273*	156[v] *
	V	Laetamini in Domino	255	273*	156[v] *
	Mag	Fulgebunt justi			
		Ps. Magnificat	255	273*	156[v] *
Matins	Inv	Regem patriarcharum Dominum			
		Ps. Venite	255	274	157
	H	Ecclesiarum principes	255	274*	157*
Noct1	Ant1	Secus decursus aquarum			
		Ps. Beatus vir	255	274	157
	Ant2	Tamquam aurum in fornace			
		Ps. Quare fremuerunt	255	274	157
	Ant3	Sapientiam eorum narrent			
		Ps. Domine quid multiplicati	255	274	157
	V	Laetamini in Domino	255	275*	157*
	R1	Locutus est Dominus ad Abraham			
		v. Benedicens benedicam tibi	255	275	157
	R2	Dum staret Abraham			
		v. Tunc quippe vidit Abraham	255	275	157[v]

[95] Dondi, Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre, p. 62 n. 2.

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit		Sibert	CarK1	CarK3
	R3	Temptavit Deus Abraham				
		v.	Immola Deo sacrificium	255	276	157v
Noct2	Ant1	Dabo sanctis meis locum				
		Ps.	Domine quis habitabit	255	277	158
	Ant2	Sanctis qui in terra sunt				
		Ps.	Conserva	255	277	158
	Ant3	Sancti qui sperant in Domino				
		Ps.	Domini est terra	255	277	158
	V	Exultent justi		255	277*	158*
	R1	Angelus Domini				
		v.	Cumque extendisset manum	255	278	158
	R2	Deus Domini mei Abraham				
		v.	Deus meus	255	278	158v
	R3	Veni hodie ad fontem aque				
		v.	Igitur puella cui ego dixero	255	279	158v
Noct3	Ant1	Laetamini in Domino et				
		Ps.	Beati quorum	255	280	159
	Ant2	Justi autem in perpetuum				
		Ps.	Exultate	255	280	159
	Ant3	Principes populorum				
		Ps.	Omnes gentes	255	280	159
	V	Justi autem in perpetuum		255	280*	159*
	R1	Dum [ex-]iret Jacob de terra				
		v.	Vere Dominus est in loco	255	280	159
	R2	Oravit Jacob et dixit Domine				
		v.	Deus in cujus conspectu	255	281	159
	R3	Concede nobis Domine				
		v.	Adiuvent nos	255	282*	159*
Lauds	Ant1	Justorum autem animae in manu				
		Ps.	Dominus regnavit	255	282	159*
	Ant2	Cum palma ad regna				
		Ps.	Jubilate	255	282	160
	Ant3	Corpora sanctorum in pace				
		Ps.	Deus Deus	255	282	160
	Ant4	Spiritus et animae justorum				
		Ps.	Benedicite	255	283	160

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit		Sibert	CarK1	CarK3
	Ant5	Exultabunt sancti in gloria				
		Ps.	Laudate Dominum	255	283	160
	H	Vos saecli justi		255	283*	160*
	V	Mirabilis Deus		255	283*	160*
	Ben	Abraham pater vester				
		Ps.	Benedictus	255	283	160
2Vesp	Ant1	Justorum autem				
		Ps.	Dixit Dominus	256	283*	160*
	H	Exultet coelum laudibus		256	283*	160*
	V	Laetamini		256	283*	160*
	Mag	Pater Abraham miserere mei				
		Ps.	Magnificat	256	283	160

St Lazarus (17 December). The veneration of St Lazarus (17 December) in the Carmelite liturgy derives both from his Holy Land association and his veneration in the Holy Sepulchre tradition. An eastern legend maintains that Lazarus, along with his sisters Mary and Martha and some companions, were set adrift in a boat which landed in Cyprus, where he became Bishop at Kition (Larnaka) and died there thirty years later.[96] His presence among the Carmelites is much more likely, however, to derive from the eleventh-century legend according to which he was set adrift in an oarless boat along with Martha, Mary, Maximinus, and their companions, all of whom landed in the south of France, from where Lazarus became Bishop of Marseille; a letter of Pope Benedict IX refers to his relics being preserved at the abbey of St Victor at Marseille.[97] Since Lazarus is best remembered in the scriptures for the miracle by which Jesus raised him from the dead, his veneration in the Carmelite liturgy is consistent with the importance of the resurrection in that tradition. His veneration among the Carmelites as a confessor bishop links the feast to the French legend and tradition, which in turn accounts for its being celebrated in the Holy Sepulchre rite. The Benedictus antiphon 'Lazarus amicus' and the Magnificat antiphon 'Domine si fuisses hic', whose texts are adapted from the account of his resurrection, are both in common usage but are generally not

[96] *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Herbert Thurston, S.J. and Donald Attwater 4 vols (New York: Kenedy, 1963), IV, 576–77.

[97] *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Thurston and Attwater, IV, 576.

used elsewhere for a proper feast of St Lazarus, except for a single instance in the CANTUS index where they occur in Paris, BnF, lat. 1090, folio 252. Presumably the French celebration of Lazarus carried over into the Holy Sepulchre liturgy and eventually into the Carmelite rite.

Transfiguration (6 August). The feast of the Transfiguration (6 August) merited an important place in the Carmelite liturgy for several reasons: 1) it is associated with a sacred place in the Holy Land, in keeping with the order's origins; 2) it depicts a moment of total contemplation as the chosen disciples are caught up in the vision of Jesus together with Moses and Elijah; 3) it provides an implicit justification of resurrection, since both Moses and Elijah appear as living figures together with Jesus in the Gospel account; and 4) it emphasizes the prophet Elijah, whose veneration by the Carmelites as the founder of their order was becoming well established by the fourteenth century.[98] The feast occurs in CarK1 on page 123 and in CarK3 on folio 122. Sibert's ordinal prescribed that the Matins chants be taken from those for Trinity Sunday which, like this feast, emphasizes the holiness of the Godhead. Since Trinity Sunday was celebrated universally in the later Middle Ages, all the Matins chants were in common usage. The Vespers and Lauds chants, however, were much more restricted. Thus the ninth Matins responsory, 'Assumens Jesus', the only Matins chant not taken from Trinity Sunday and one that is also used for first Vespers, occurs in only five manuscripts cited in CANTUS, one of them being Carmelite. Only four of these instances use 'Ne videntes ejus'[99] as the verse for this responsory. The Magnificat antiphon 'Visionem quam vidistis' was commonly used as a Lenten antiphon, normally for the second Sunday of Lent, but more rarely for the Transfiguration, occurring in only seven of the sources indexed by CANTUS.[100] The Lauds chants are similarly restricted in usage: the first four Lauds antiphons, 'Dum transfiguraretur Jesus', 'Tunc Petrus dixit', Adhuc eo loquente', and 'De qua vox insonuit', are in a modal

[98] The Catalan Carmelite Felip Ribot, especially in his *Institute of the First Monks*, contributed substantially to the Carmelite understanding of Elijah as a founder of the order: Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, pp. 136–50.

[99] The manuscripts are A-VOR 287, fol. 291v; A-Wda C-10, fol. 228, CH-E611, fol. 281v; D-MAb C, fol. 255v (Carmelite). The responsory with a different verse, 'Facies ejus sicut sol', occurs in F-CA 38, fol. 417v.

[100] These sources are A-Vor 287, fol. 292; A-Wda C-10, fol. 228; A-F-AS 465, fol. 417v, F-CA 38, fol. 417; NL-Uu 406, fols 241 and 251; F-CA Impr XVI C4, fol. 152v; and A, I-Rvat SP B. 79, fol. 197.

order of modes 1 through 4 and are listed only in a single Mainz Carmelite source inventoried by CANTUS; the fifth antiphon, 'Nubes lucida obumbravit', occurs in two other sources,[101] while the Benedictus antiphon 'Ante duos vates' occurs only in one non-Carmelite source.[102] The Magnificat antiphon for second Vespers, 'Hodie Dominus Jesus', occurs in five CANTUS sources, one of which is Carmelite.[103] While the feast of the Transfiguration appears in the manuscript, Paris, BnF, lat. 10478, page 798, one of the sources identified by Cristina Dondi as pertaining to the Holy Sepulchre rite,[104] it contains no proper chants, but simply has rubrics referring to chants from Trinity Sunday and elsewhere in the manuscript to adapt for use in this Transfiguration office.[105] While the Cluniac monk Peter the Venerable (d. 1156) has been credited with writing an office of the Transfiguration,[106] the chants in the Carmelite tradition are distinct from his. Thus the Carmelite version of this feast, distinct from both earlier usage in the Latin Kingdom area and from the Cluniac celebration of the feast as developed by Peter the Venerable, seems to be unique among western liturgies for this feast. The texts of the proper chants generally follow Matthew's Gospel in describing the experience. The first Vespers responsory is rhymed: 'Assumens Jesus Petrum et Jacobum et Joannem fratrem eius in montem excelsum ascendit / ibi se transfigurans sue glorie claritatem eis ostendit [a paraphrase of Matthew 17. 1]. V. Ne videntes eius passionem turbarentur/ sed fortiori soliditate firmarentur'. The first Lauds antiphon (Lauds a1) is 'Dum transfiguraretur Jesus Moyses et Elias cum eo loquentes discipulis apparuerunt' (Matthew 17. 3), Lauds a2 is 'Tunc Petrus dixit ad Jesum Domine si vis faciamus hic tria tabernacula tibi unum Moysi unum et Helye unum' (Matthew 17. 4), Lauds a3 is 'Adhuc eo loquente ecce nubes lucida obumbravit eos' (Matthew 17. 5a), Lauds a4 is 'De qua vox insonuit hic est filius meus dilectus in quo mihi complacui ipsum

[101] The sources are F-Pn lat. 1090, fol. 197^{v}; and E-Tc 44.2, fol.126.

[102] F-Pn lat. 1090, fol. 196.

[103] The sources are A, A-Wda C-10, fol. 228^{v}; D-Mzb C, fol. 259 (Carmelite); F-CA 38, fol. 420; F-CA Impr XVI C4, fol. 153; and F-Pn lat. 1090, fol. 196.

[104] This manuscript, made for the Templars at Acre, is numbered HS^{14} in Dondi's list of manuscripts: *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, pp. 86–88.

[105] The Transfiguration office in this manuscript is discussed in Boyce, 'The Search for the Early Carmelite Liturgy', p. 966.

[106] Dom Jean Leclercq, *Pierre le Vénérable* (Abbaye St-Wandrille: Fontenelle, 1946), p. 17.

audite' (Matthew 17. 5b). which Lauds a5 reiterates, 'Nubes lucida obumbravit eos et ecce vox de nube dicens hic est filius meus dilectus in quo mihi bene complacui', with the text 'ipsum audite' added by a later hand. The Magnificat antiphon for second Vespers reflects on the event as a whole, 'Hodie Dominus Jesus Christus facie ut sol in monte resplenduit ac vestimentis tamquam nix candidus emicuit', a reflection on Matthew 17. 2. Textually, then, these chants reflect the Matthaean account of the Transfiguration.

The Virgin Mary

The veneration of the Virgin Mary was central to the life of the medieval Carmelites, whose chapel on Mount Carmel itself was traditionally dedicated to her and who quickly became known for their Marian devotion. Thus Pope Innocent IV used the title 'Order of St Mary of Mount Carmel' to address the Carmelites when he issued his letter, *Ex parte dilectorum*, on 13 January 1252.[107] From the very beginning of their life in Kraków the Carmelites were closely allied with the administration of a shrine church dedicated to 'Our Lady on the Sands', as we have seen in Chapter 1. Marian devotion was by no means exclusive to the Carmelites: the much more renowned St Mary's [Mariacki] Church in the Market Square [Rynek Główny] and the well established church of the Dominicans, for instance, both within the walls of the medieval city, already had a venerable Marian devotion. Nevertheless, the distinctive Carmelite liturgical tradition in honour of Mary helped to increase divine worship in Kraków, as Boniface IX mentioned in his confirmation letter.

The Saturday Commemoration. The Saturday commemoration of the Virgin was a part of the Carmelite tradition since the time of Sibert's ordinal in 1312, where rubrics for its celebration are given in chapter 21, entitled 'De commemoratione Beatae Virginis cum IX Lectionibus in Sabbatis Facienda'.[108] According to these rubrics, the first Vespers chants should follow those for the day, that is, Friday, evening, with the reading (*capitulum*) 'Beata es' and the responsory 'Sicut cedrus'. Chants for this celebration occur in CarK4 and follow those prescribed by Sibert in great detail. Sibert's prescriptions allow for some variation according to the liturgical season, so that the Nunc dimittis antiphon

[107] *Rule of Saint Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, 43.

[108] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, pp. 33–5.

for Compline is 'Ecce completa sunt' from Christmas to the feast of the Purification, 'Sub tuum praesidium' from the Purification to Ash Wednesday, and 'Alleluia Sancta Dei' for all other times. Since CarK4 includes all three of these antiphons for the Nunc dimittis chant this codex was probably used throughout the year for this office of the Saturday commemoration of Mary.

The Saturday commemoration of the Virgin relates to other aspects of Carmelite spirituality. According to Carmelite tradition, the Virgin Mary appeared to St Simon Stock, the mid-thirteenth-century Prior General of the Carmelites, at some point during his term of office.[109] The tradition records that St Simon saw Mary wearing a brown (tunic and) scapular which she enjoined him to adopt as the official habit of the order. An illuminated initial 'I' for 'Iustus' in the Carmelite Gradual of 1644 (CarK6) portrays Mary extending the scapular panel of the habit to St Simon, so that both are actually touching it, giving the portrait a vivid tactile dimension.[110] Devotion to the scapular became very popular due to a 'Sabbatine' bull from the beginning of the fifteenth century. Ostensibly a confirmation written on 7 December 1409 by Alexander V of a bull of John XXII dating to 3 March 1322 'directed to the prior general, brothers, sisters, and members of the confraternity of the Carmelite order',[111] it relates a vision of the Virgin Mary to Pope John in which she promised to free all members of the confraternity from purgatory on the Saturday after their death, providing of course that they recited the canonical hours or, if they could not read, fasted on the appropriate days prescribed by the Church and abstained from meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays, except on Christmas Day.[112] Joachim Smet maintains, based on Ludovico Saggi's writings, that the Sabbatine bull most likely originated in Sicily in the fifteenth century, 'probably inspired by the confirmation by Clement V, 30 August 1309, of the bull of Nicholas IV, 17 August 1289, approving the rule of the Franciscan third order'.[113] This

[109] Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, pp. 37-39; Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 222–23; Richard Copsey, 'Simon Stock and the Scapular Vision', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 50 (1999), 652-683.

[110] This image is found on fol. 249^{v} of CarK6.

[111] Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 223.

[112] Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 223. For the critical text see Ludovico Saggi, O. Carm., 'Il testo della "bolla sabatina"', *Carmelus*, 13 (1966), 243–302 and also Ludovico Saggi, 'L'ambiente della "bolla sabatina", abito religioso e salvezza eterna in scritti medievali', *Carmelus*, 14 (1967), 63–89.

[113] Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 223, based on Saggi, 'L'ambiente della "bolla"', 88–89.

Sabbatine bull thus had enormous influence over the rapid growth of Carmelite third order confraternities, one of which was established in Kraków in the seventeenth century, as has been discussed in Chapter 1.[114] The specific reference in the bull to Mary's intervention on the Saturday after death no doubt strongly reinforced the importance of the Saturday commemoration of the Virgin Mary. Thus popular devotion related directly to the liturgy and also associated large numbers of lay people with the Carmelite community in the major cities of western Europe where the Carmelites maintained a presence.

Assumption of the Virgin (15 August). Chants for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary begin on page 145 of CarK1 and on folio 130 of CarK3, beginning with 'Hec est regina', the standard first antiphon for first Vespers in the Carmelite liturgical tradition for all feasts of Mary. The compilers of CarK1 were obviously aware of this chant's importance, since this 'Hec' features a beautifully illuminated 'H', appropriately depicting the coronation of the Virgin, shown as our Figure 3.[115] To the left of the 'H' a Carmelite in white cloak holds an inscription which is almost illegible but which appears to be 'Frater Romanus fecit'. The inscription, of course, does not make clear whether Frater Romanus made just the illumination or a larger part of the manuscript.[116] To the left of the Carmelite is a much smaller crowned female figure who is St Catherine of Alexandria, wearing a green cloak with red lining over a brown dress and holding the wheel symbolizing her martyrdom in her right hand. The painting of Mary's face is slightly damaged. Within the initial Christ wears a pink cloak with a green lining; in his left hand he holds an orb with a cross, signifying Jesus as king of the universe or *salvator mundi*, the

[114] For a discussion of the Scapular Confraternity in Kraków see Spiller and Zań-Ograbek. *Arcybractwo Szkaplerza Świętego przy kościele Karmelitów w Krakowie*.

[115] For a discussion of the coronation of the Virgin as it appears in a London Carmelite Missal, now London, British Library, Additional MS 29704, cf. Nigel Morgan, 'The Coronation of the Virgin by the Trinity and Other Texts and Images of the Glorification of Mary in Fifteenth-Century England', *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1992 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Nicholas Rogers, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 4 (Stamford: Watkins, 1994), pp. 223–41.

[116] Richard and Mary Rouse discuss a similar problem in a one-volume Bible, now Paris, BnF, lat. 11930–11931 where an inscription 'Magister Alexander me fecit' in gold letters across the top of the opening page of Genesis raises the question whether Master Alexander made the illumination or the book itself: Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, I, 35 for this discussion.

saviour of the world;[117] with his right hand he places the crown on Mary's head. Christ and his mother sit before a golden cloth of honour adorned with scrolls. Behind this hanging is a very elaborate piece of Gothic architecture, with a tower, flying buttresses, spires, and red and blue roofs.[118]



Figure 3: Historiated 'H' for 'Hec est regina' in CarK1, p. 145.

[117] Susan Boynton discusses the context of such an imperial apple: according to the account of the eleventh-century historian Radulfus Glaber, Pope Benedict VIII presented Henry II with a newly fashioned imperial insignia, a golden apple surrounded by jewels and adorned with a golden cross, which Henry then gave to the monastery of Cluny; cf. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity*, p. 165.

[118] This initial is described in detail in Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, II, 48–49, and is reproduced as example 42 on p. 50; Płonka-Bałus, 'Antyfonarz z Roku 1397', pp. 49–50.

Table 6: Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary

Chant		Incipit	Sibert	CarK1	CarK3
Service	Prayer				
1Vesp	Ant1	Haec est regina			
		Ps. Laudate pueri	241	145	130
	Ant2	Te decus [virgineum]			
		Ps. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes		145	130
	Ant3	Sub tuum praesidium			
		Ps. Lauda anima		146	130^{v}
	Ant4	Santa Maria succurre			
		Ps. Laudate Dominum quoniam		147	130^{v}
	Ant5	Beata Dei [genitrix]			
		Ps. Lauda Jerusalem.		147	130^{v}
	R	Sicut cedrus*	148	241	131
	H	O quam glorifica*	241	148	131
	V	Exaltata es*	241	148	131
	Mag	Paradisi			
		Ps. Magnificat	241	148	131
Comp	NcD	Alleluia sancta Dei			
		Ps. Nunc dimittis	242	148	131
Matins	Inv	Venite adoremus regem regum			
		Ps. Venite	242	148	131
	H	Quem terra*	242	148	131
Noct1	Ant1	Ecce tu pulchra			
		Ps. Domine Dominus	242	149	131^{v}
	Ant2	Sicut lilium inter spinas			
		Ps. Coeli enarrant	242	149	131^{v}
	Ant3	Favus distillans			
		Ps. Domini est terra	242	149	131^{v}
	V	Diffusa est gratia*	242	149	131^{v}
	R1	Vidi speciosam			
		v. Quae est ista quae asendit	242	149	131^{v}
	R2	Sicut cedrus exaltata			
		v. Et sicut	242	150	132
	R3	Quae est ista quae processit			
		v. Et sicut dies	242	151	132

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	Sibert	CarK1	CarK3
Noct2	Ant1	Emissiones tuae			
		Ps. Eructavit	242	152	132v
	Ant2	Fons ortorum			
		Ps. Deus noster	242	152	132v
	Ant3	Venit dilectus meus			
		Ps. Fundamenta	242	152	132v
	V	Specie tua*	242	152	132v
	R1	Beatam me dicent omnes			
		v. Et misericordia eius	242	152	132v
	R2	Ornatam monilibus			
		v. Astitit regina	242	153	133
	R3	Beata es virgo Maria			
		v. Ave Maria gratia	242	154	133
Noct3	Ant1	Veni in ortum meum			
		Ps. Cantate (primus)	242	155	133v
	Ant2	Comedi favum um melle			
		Ps. Dominus regnavit exultet	242	155	133v
	Ant3	Talis est dilectus meus			
		Ps. Cantate (secundus)	242	155	133v
	V	Adiuvabit*	242	155	133v
	R1	Super salutem et omnem			
		v. Valde eam nos	242	155	133v
	R2	Ista est speciosa			
		v. Ista est quae ascendit	242	156	134
	R3	Felix namque es sacra virgo			
		v. Ora pro populo			
		v. Gloria patri	242	157	134
Lauds	Ant1	Assumpta est Maria			
		Ps. Dominus regnavit	242	158	134v
	Ant2	Maria virgo assumpta est			
		Ps. Jubilate	242	158	134v
	Ant3	In odore unguentorum			
		Ps. Deus Deus	242	158	134v
	Ant4	Benedicta filia tua			
		Ps. Benedicite	242	158	134v
	Ant5	Pulchra es et decora			
		Ps. Laudate	242	159	135

Chant		Incipit	Sibert	CarK1	CarK3
Service	Prayer				
	H	O gloriosa*	242	159	135
	V	Elegit eam*	242	159	135
	Ben	Que est ista que ascendit			
		Ps. Benedictus	242	159	135
2Vesp	Ant1	Assumpta*	243	159	135
	R	Felix namque*	243	159	135
	Mag	Hodie Maria virgo	243	159	135

The pictorial depiction of Mary as queen not only provides a beautiful illumination for the feast, but directly relates to Carmelite spirituality, which emphasizes her coronation in heaven as the completion of her human journey of discipleship. This also rivals the Polish tradition of honouring the Virgin Mary; while the solemn commemoration of Mary at Częstochowa as 'Queen of Poland' in 1717[119] was a later event, it presumably reflected ideals and practices that date back to medieval tradition. The coronation image further intensifies the Carmelite liturgy's emphasis on the resurrection, since Mary's assumption theologically recalls the resurrection of her Son, in which all believers eventually hope to share. The illumination of course also pictorially reinforces Mary as the queen of virgins as the text 'Hec est regina virginum' maintains. This emphasis relates directly to the Carmelites' own life style: as professed religious who deliberately pursue a vocation of consecrated virginity, they look to her as their model of holiness and their queen. Table 6 shows the chants for this feast in Sibert's ordinal, with the corresponding location of the chants in the Kraków Carmelite manuscripts. The standard first Vespers chants for all Marian feasts, 'Hec est regina', 'Te decus virgineum', 'Sub tuum praesidium', 'Sancta Maria succurre', and 'Beata dei genitrix', are all appropriately used here for the celebration of the Assumption. These Marian Vespers antiphons are not only the same as in Carmelite antiphonals from Mainz, Florence, and Pisa, but they are also found, with identical text and music, in the noted breviary from the Holy Land, now Paris, BnF, MS latin 10478,[120] discussed in Chapter 2. Chants for the feast of the Assumption as found in the Kraków Carmelite tradition

[119] Norman Davies, *God's Playground*, I, 172.

[120] This manuscript is described in Delisle, *Inventaire*, p. 4, where he asserts that the manuscript is part of a series which entered the library between the years 1744 and 1862; Victor Leroquais discusses this breviary in *Bréviaires manuscrits*, pp. 189–92.

correspond to those in Carmelite manuscripts from Mainz and Florence, and are distinctive from chants used in other traditions and dioceses. The feast of the Assumption was particularly important within the Carmelite tradition, since in the years before the development of a proper feast of the Solemn Commemoration of the Virgin, also known as Our Lady of Mount Carmel, eventually fixed on 16 July, the Assumption was celebrated as the patronal feast in its stead.[121] Sibert's ordinal also prescribed a procession through the cloister as part of the celebration for the feast.[122] While the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel eventually was established on 16 July, its actual celebration is not mentioned in manuscripts before the very end of the fifteenth century.[123] The feast of the assumption thus assumes great importance as a celebration by the Carmelites of their own origin and vocation.

Nativity of the Virgin (8 September). The feast of the Nativity of Mary (8 September) was celebrated among the Carmelites as it was throughout the universal church. Chants for the nativity of Mary, celebrated on 8 September, begin on p. 192 of CarK1, where the 'S' of the chant 'Solem justitiae' is illuminated and where a Carmelite is portrayed to the left of the letter, holding a scroll which reads 'Avertanus Carmelitica offert', shown as our Figure 4. While no Carmelite named Avertanus is named in the dedicatory inscription of the Wrocław manuscript, he may have been responsible for at least part of the codex, perhaps this illumination; the inscription may be an eighteenth-century replacement of the original, as Kopera and Lepszy maintain.[124] In the middle of the historiated 'S', St Anne is depicted sitting on a throne holding little figures

[121] For instance, the English Carmelite Robert Ormeskirk wrote in his *Tractatus de Confirmatione Ordinis* around 1380 that the Prior General, Bernard Oller, ordered the celebration of the Assumption as the *Festum Confratrum* or patronal feast, in 1376: *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, ed. by Staring, p. 421 and Arie G. Kallenberg, 'The Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in the Liturgical Tradition of the Order', *Carmelus*, 47 (2000), 6–18 (p. 9).

[122] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, pp. 242–43.

[123] It is prescribed as a *totum duplex* feast, for instance in the breviary Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS Palatini 214, dated to the years 1440–78: Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, pp. 174–77; and Kallenberg, 'The Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel', p. 16.

[124] Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, II, 50.



Figure 4: Historiated 'S' for 'Solem iustitie' in CarK1, p. 192.

of Mary and the infant Jesus. All three figures have golden haloes.[125] This image of Anne, Mary, and Jesus is generally known as Anna Selbdritt in German and the St Anne Trinity in English. Płonka-Bałus points out, citing M. Lachner, that the positioning of St Anne enthroned and facing front recalls the Byzantine icon known as Nikopoia or bringer of the victory, thus depicting Anne as the one who brings Mary and then Jesus as means of salvation. It is also closely related to Anne's role as a means for intercessory prayer.[126] Virginia

[125] This historiated initial 'S' is described in Lopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, II, 50 and shown as example 46 on p. 53. Virginia Nixon discusses several instances of this St Anne Trinity in *Mary's Mother: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).

[126] Płonka-Bałus, 'Antyfonarz z roku 1397', pp. 48–9.

Nixon maintains that power 'is often ascribed to Anne through association, her status (and power) heightened by compositional devices associating her with Mary'.[127] St Anne's effectiveness as an intercessor obviously derives from her daughter and grandson, an argument effectively reinforced by this portrayal of the St Anne Trinity in the context of Mary's Nativity.

Although some of these Nativity chants have been reworked by a later hand, the original layer of chants here and in CarK3, beginning on folio 145v, clearly follow the ordering stipulated by Sibert de Beka in his ordinal. A single rubric used in both CarK1 and CarK3 indicates that the chant 'Hec est regina' should be used as the first antiphon of first Vespers, but it suffices to indicate that it and the other four antiphons in the series are meant to be the distinctively Carmelite first Vespers chants used for this Marian feast. In addition, the Matins chants include the three responsories written by Fulbert of Chartres for the feast of Mary's Nativity, 'Solem iustitiae', 'Stirps Jesse', and 'Ad nutum Domini', which he added into a preexisting office.[128] The organization of chants for this feast in Kraków and other Carmelite manuscripts is distinct from the usage of other orders and dioceses but, apart from the three responsories of Fulbert, is taken from the general corpus of chants in honour of Mary.

Purification (2 February). Chants for the feast of the Purification of Mary (2 February) begin on page 248 of CarK2 and on folio 124 of CarK5. This is virtually the only Marian feast which does not have 'Hec est regina' and its series as first Vespers chants, perhaps because it has a dual purpose as the purification of the Virgin and the presentation of Jesus in the Temple. Here the first Vespers antiphons are 'O admirabile', 'Quando natus', 'Rubum quem', 'Germinavit', and 'Ecce Maria', as prescribed in Sibert's ordinal.[129] The chants either derive directly from the Gospel account of the Presentation of Jesus or are closely related to it; their organization is distinctive in the Carmelite liturgy. The feast itself is unusual since it features a blessing of candles and procession at

[127] Nixon, *Mary's Mother*, p. 47.

[128] Chan. Yves Delaporte, 'Fulbert de Chartres et l'école chartraine de chant liturgique au XIe siècle', *Études grégoriennes*, 2 (1957), 51–81 (p. 55); R. de Sainte-Beuve, 'Les Répons de Saint Fulbert pour la nativité de la sainte Vierge', *Revue grégorienne*, 13 (1928), 121–28, 157–74; Margot Fassler, 'Liturgy and Sacred History in the Twelfth-Century Tympana at Chartres', *The Art Bulletin*, 75 (1993), 499–520 and Margot Fassler, 'Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres, and the *Stirps Jesse*: Liturgical Innovation circa 1000 and its Afterlife', *Speculum*, 75 (2000), 389–434.

[129] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 211.

the beginning of Mass, chants for which are preserved in copies of a surviving processional in the Kraków convent.[130]

Annunciation (25 March). The oldest and most widely disseminated Marian feast, the Annunciation, commemorates the Angel Gabriel's message to the Virgin Mary as recounted in the Gospel of Luke 1. 26–38. While this is one of the very few canonical scriptural passages concerning Mary, it is presumably more theological than historical in its purpose, since it describes Mary's role as *Theotokos* or mother of God, the primary reason for her veneration in the Christian church. The feast was celebrated on 26 December from before the Council of Ephesus in 431 and on 25 March from the sixth century in the east and the seventh in the west.[131]

Perhaps because of its widespread usage, considerable variety prevailed among different rites as to which chants should be used to celebrate the feast. As a result, Carmelite practice, as described in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka, was different from the rites of other orders and dioceses, although all of them chose established chant texts, usually based on the Lucan Gospel account, for use in their rites. Table 7 lists the chants as prescribed by Sibert to celebrate the feast and shows the relevant folio or page numbers in the Kraków manuscripts where these chants occur, specifically CarK5, beginning on folio 137^{v}, and also by a later hand in CarK2, beginning on folio 5^{v}. A rubric in CarK2, although by a later hand, designates 'Haec est regina' as the first chant in the set of first Vespers antiphons. The chants in CarK2, however, have been erased and replaced by palimpsest text and music. For this reason we use those of CarK5 as a basis for comparison. This manuscript however is incomplete, with a number of folios missing, including those that contain chants for this feast. The Matins chants are almost complete and, as Table 7 shows, agree with the prescriptions of Sibert's ordinal. The chant N3R1 (Nocturn 3, Responsory 1) has a small textual variant, 'super quem' rather than 'super ipsum', but otherwise the piece is the same as Sibert's prescription.

[130] The processional, listed in the Appendix as Book A, was printed in 1666 and contains the procession chants for the Purification feast on p. 1.

[131] Adolf Adam, *The Liturgical Year: Its History and its Meaning after the Reform of the Liturgy*, trans. by Matthew J. O'Connell (New York: Pueblo, 1981), pp. 152–53.

Table 7: Feast of the Annunciation

Chant Service	Chant Prayer	Incipit	Sibert	CarK5
1Vesp	Ant1	Haec est regina		
		Ps. Laudate pueri	217	
	Ant2	Te decus [virgineum]		
		Ps. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	217	
	Ant3	Sub tuum praesidium		
		Ps. Lauda anima	217	
	Ant4	Santa Maria [succurre]		
		Ps. Laudate Dominum quoniam	217	
	Ant5	Beata Dei [genitrix]		
		Ps. Lauda Jerusalem	217	
	R	Christi virgo dilectissima	217	
	H	Ave maris stella	217	
	V	Rorate coeli	217	
	Mag	Ingressus		
		Ps. Magnificat	217	
Comp	NcD	Ecce ancilla		
		Ps. Nunc dimittis	217	
Matins	Inv	Ave Maria		
		Ps. Venite	217	
	H	Quem terra	217	
Noct1	Ant1	Missus est Gabriel		
		Ps. Domine Dominus	217	
	Ant2	Ave Maria		
		Ps. Coeli enarrant	217	
	Ant3	Benedicta tu		
		Ps. Domini est terra	217	
	V	Ex Syon species	217	
	R1	[Missus est Gabriel]		
		v. Dabit ei Dominus	217	137^{v}
	R2	Ave Maria gratia plena		
		v. Quomodo fiet istud	217	138
	R3	Suscipe verbum		
		v. Paries quidem	217	138
Noct2	Ant1	Ne timeas Maria		
		Ps. Eructavit	217	138^{v}
	Ant2	Spiritus sanctus		
		Ps. Deus noster	218	138v
	Ant3	Dabit illi Dominus Deus		
		Ps. Fundamenta	218	138^{v}

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	Sibert	CarK5
	V	Egredietur virga	218	138v*
	R1	Ecce virgo concipiet		
		v. Super solium David	218	138v
	R2	Descendet Dominus sicut pluviam		
		v. (Et) Adorabunt eum	218	139
	R3	Ecce radix Jesse		
		v. Dabit illi	218	139**
Noct3	Ant1	Ecce ancilla Domini		
		Ps. Cantate (primus)	218	139v
	Ant2	Beata es Maria		
		Ps. Dominus regnavit exultet	218	139v
	Ant3	Beatam me dicent		
		Ps. Cantate (secundus)	218	139v
	V	Egredietur Dominus	218	139v *
	R1	Radix Jesse		
		v. Super [ipsum] quem continebunt	218	139v
	R2	Nascetur		
		v. Multiplicabitur	218	
	R3	Christi virgo		
		v. Quoniam peccatorum		
		v. Gloria patri	218	
Lauds	Ant1	Prophetae praedicaverunt		
		Ps. Dominus regnavit	218	
	Ant2	Angelus Domini		
		Ps. Jubilate	218	
	Ant3	Orietur		
		Ps. Deus Deus	218	
	Ant4	Ex quo facta		
		Ps. Benedicite	218	
	Ant5	Maria autem		
		Ps. Laudate	218	
	H	O gloriosa	218	
	V	Vox clamantis	218	
	Ben	Super solium		
		Ps. Benedictus	218	
2Vesp	Mag	O virgo virginum		
		Ps. Magnificat	218	140

** the text and the music were erased in manuscript

Here, as in virtually all other Marian feasts, the first Vespers chants are prescribed as 'Hec est regina virginum', 'Te decus virgineum', 'Sub tuum praesidium', 'Sancta Maria succurre', and 'Beata Dei genitrix', chants which probably derive from the Jerusalem rite of the Holy Sepulchre. The Franciscan rite prescribed a different set of antiphons for first Vespers: 'Missus est angelus', 'Ave Maria', 'Ne timeas Maria', 'Dabit ei Dominus', and 'Ecce ancilla Domini'.[132] While some coincidences occur between Franciscan and Carmelite chants, such as the first three Matins responsories, for example, the vast majority of chants used among the Franciscans involved entirely different texts or the same text but in a different liturgical placement in the office liturgy. As a result the Carmelite office celebration is entirely distinct from that of the Franciscans. A similar situation applies to a comparison of Carmelite and Dominican pieces used to celebrate this feast. Thus a comparison with the manuscript London, British Library, Additional MS 23935, the Dominican Master General's portable copy of Humbert of Romans' codex, shows some concordances of pieces between the two rites, but not necessarily in the same order. The first Vespers antiphons 'Te decus virgineum' and 'Sancta Maria succurre' are not used in the Dominican observance of this feast. I have shown elsewhere that this ordering of Annunciation chants in Sibert's ordinal was followed scrupulously in Carmelite manuscripts from Mainz and was distinct from Mainz diocesan usage. For instance, in the fifteenth-century antiphonal Aschaffenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS Perg. 2, the five antiphons for first Vespers are 'Missus est angelus', 'Ingressus angelus', 'Maria turbatur', 'Respondens angelus', and 'Ecce concipies'. The Matins responsories in this Aschaffenburg manuscript also are different from Carmelite practice.[133] Kraków diocesan practice shows similar contrasts, where for instance an entirely different set of first Vespers antiphons, beginning with the chant 'A diebus antiquis', is used to celebrate the feast.[134] Thus, despite the virtually universal celebration of this feast in the later middle ages, the Carmelite version was distinctive and hence complemented the celebrations in the Franciscan, Dominican, and diocesan churches of Kraków.

[132] Stephen J. P. van Dijk, O.F.M., *The Ordinal of the Papal Court from Innocent III to Boniface VIII and Related Documents*, completed by Joan Hazelden Walker, Spicilegium Friburgense, 22 (Fribourg: The University Press, 1975), p. 380; the remaining chants are listed on pp. 381–82.

[133] Boyce, 'Die Mainzer Karmeliterchorbücher', pp. 296–98.

[134] This office begins on fol. 334^{v} in Kraków, Jagellonian University, MS 1255 [Kra1].

Conception (8 December). The feast of the Conception of the Virgin (8 December) is of particular significance for the Carmelites, who accepted it into their liturgy at the General Chapter of Toulouse in 1306,[135] thus in time for it to be included and standardized in Sibert's ordinal of 1312. While the feast of Mary's conception is obviously not the same as the Immaculate Conception, it nonetheless recalls the considerable controversy surrounding that question. The feast of the conception itself can be traced back to origins in Crete at the end of the seventh century and to its celebration in Italy and Sicily in the ninth century and in England in the twelfth century.[136]

Despite the widespread celebration of this feast in the later Middle Ages, the question of the Immaculate Conception nonetheless embroiled it in controversy, in which the mendicant orders, including the Carmelites, played a significant role. As early as 1140 Bernard of Clairvaux had expressed his opposition to a feast of the Immaculate Conception in his letter to the cathedral canons of Lyon.[137] During the thirteenth century the Franciscans, following the direction of Duns Scotus, actively promoted the feast of the Immaculate Conception while the Dominicans, out of loyalty to Thomas Aquinas, opposed it. Thomas maintained that, rather than being conceived immaculate, Mary was instead sanctified in the womb, leading him to endorse a feast of the sanctification of the Virgin rather than her immaculate conception.[138] Following his teaching the Avignon obedience of the Dominicans accepted the feast of the Sanctification in 1388 while the Roman obedience, under Blessed Raymond of Capua, adopted this feast beginning with the General Chapter of 1391 and the two successive ones.[139] Thus the Carmelites not only observed the feast of the conception or sanctification of the

[135] Augustine M. Forcadell, O. Carm., 'The Feast of the Immaculate Conception in the Carmelite Liturgy', *The Sword*, 17 (1954), 184–93 (p. 184); Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, p. 25.

[136] Cornelius A. Bauman, 'The Immaculate Conception in the Liturgy', in *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception*, ed. Edward Dennis O'Connor, C.S.C. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958), pp. 113–59; Stephen J. P. van Dijk, 'The Origin of the Latin Feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary', *The Dublin Review*, 228 (1954), 251–67 and 428–42.

[137] *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1844–91), CLXXXII, 332–36.

[138] St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, trans by Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 5 vols (New York: Benziger, 1947), II, 2165; pt. III, Q. 27, Art. 2, Reply Obj. 3.

[139] Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy*, pp. 228–31.

Virgin long before the Dominicans embraced that of the sanctification, but their observance of this feast must also be understood in the context of the energetic preaching of Carmelites such as John Baconthorpe (d. 1348) in favour of the Immaculate Conception.[140]

The feast of Mary's conception was of sufficient importance to be considered for some time the patronal feast of the order. Thus the Carmelite John of Hildesheim, in his tract *Dialogus inter Directorem et Detractorem*, described how, during the years of the western schism, both in Avignon and in Rome the cardinals of the Roman Curia celebrated the feast of the Conception with the Carmelites at their local convent.[141]

Table 8: Feast of the Conception of the Virgin Mary

Chant		Incipit	Sibert	CarK5
Service	Prayer			
1Vesp	Ant1	Haec est regina		
		Ps. Laudate pueri	267	96ᵛ
	Ant2	Te decus vrgineum		
		Ps. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	267	96ᵛ
	Ant3	Sub tuum presidium		
		Ps. Lauda anima	267	96ᵛ
	Ant4	Santa Maria succurre		
		Ps. Laudate Dominum quoniam	267	97
	Ant5	Beata Dei genitrix		
		Ps. Lauda Jerusalem	267	97
	R	Christi virgo dilectissima		
		v. Quoniam peccatorum		
		v. Gloria Patri	267	97
	H	Ave maris stella	267	97ᵛ*
	V	Diffusa est gratia	267	97ᵛ *

[140] Baconthorpe's defence of the Immaculate Conception stems from his being in the diocese of Canterbury, whose archbishop, Simon Mepham, solemnly approved the feast at a London Council in 1328. Baconthorpe's position was based on his discovery of a small book entitled *On the Conception of Saint Mary*, which he mistakenly thought had been written by St Anselm (d. 1109) who was in fact opposed to the notion, but was actually written by Anselm's secretary, Eadmer (d. 1124): Eamon R. Carroll, O. Carm., 'The Medieval Flowering', in *Carmel and Mary: Theology and History of a Devotion*, ed. by John F. Welch, O. Carm. (Washington, D.C.: The Carmelite Institute, 2002), pp. 47–66 (pp. 58–59).

[141] Kallenberg, 'The Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel', p. 11, citing *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, ed. by Staring, p. 374.

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	Sibert	CarK5
	Mag	Ave regina coelorum		
		Ps. Magnificat	267	97ᵛ
Comp	NcD	Alleluia Sancta Dei genitrix		
		Ps. Nunc dimittis	267	98
Matins	Inv	In honore		
		Ps. Venite	267	98
	H	Quem terra	267	98*
Noct1	Ant1	Ecce tu pulchra es amica		
		Ps. Domine Dominus	267	98
	Ant2	Sicut lilium inter spinas		
		Ps. Coeli enarrant	267	98
	Ant3	Favus distillans		
		Ps. Domini est terra	267	98
	V	Diffusa est gratia	267	98*
	R1	Quae est ista quae processit		
		v. Et sicut dies	268	98
	R2	Ista est speciosa		
		v. Odor unguentorum	268	98ᵛ
	R3	Stirps Jesse		
		v. Virgo Dei		
		v. Gloria Patri	268	98ᵛ
Noct2	Ant1	Emissiones tue paradisus		
		Ps. Eructavit	268	99
	Ant2	Fons ortorum		
		Ps. Deus noster	268	99
	Ant3	Venit dilectus meus		
		Ps. Fundamenta	268	99
	V	Specie tua	268	99*
	R1	Beatam me dicent		
		v. Et misericordia	268	99
	R2	Ornatam monilibus		
		v. Astitit regina	268	99ᵛ
	R3	Christi virgo	268	100*
Noct3	Ant1	Corde et animo		
		Ps. Cantate (primus)	268	100
	Ant2	Dignum namque		
		Ps. Dominus regnavit exultet	268	100
	Ant3	Dignare me laudare		
		Ps. Cantate (secundus)	268	100
	V	Adjuvabit eam	268	100*
	R1	Super salutem		
		v. Valde eam	268	100

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit		Sibert	CarK5
	R2	Corde et animo			
		v.	Omnes in unum	268	100v
	R3	Felix namque			
		v.	Ora pro populo	268	100v
	V	Ora pro nobis sancta		268	100v
Lauds	Ant1	Pulchra es et decora			
		Ps.	Dominus regnavit	268	101
	Ant2	Sicut myrrha electa			
		Ps.	Jubilate	268	101
	Ant3	In odore unguentorum			
		Ps.	Deus Deus	268	101
	Ant4	Benedicta filia tua			
		Ps.	Benedicite	268	101
	Ant5	Speciosa facta es			
		Ps.	Laudate Dominum	268	101v
	H	O gloriosa domina		268	101v *
	V	Elegit eam Dominus		268	101v *
	Ben	Nigra sum sed formosa			
		Ps.	Benedictus	268	101v
2Vesp	R	Felix namque est		268	101v *
	H	Ave maris		268	101v *
	V	Diffusa est gratia		268	101v *
	Mag	Descendi in ortum			
		Ps.	Magnificat	268	101v

The Carmelites resisted the temptation to adopt the rather popular 'Gaude mater ecclesia' rhymed office[142] for the Conception, probably out of loyalty to 'Hec est regina' and its series of first Vespers chants, so well established in their Marian liturgical tradition. Table 8 lists the chants for this feast as found in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka, with the relevant concordances in CarK5, which contains the feast. The rubric for the feast in Sibert's ordinal states, 'in Conceptione vel potius Veneratione sanctificationis beatae Virginis' ('for the conception, or rather the veneration, of the sanctification of the Blessed Virgin'), thus nuancing the Carmelite position between the Franciscan endorsement of the Immaculate Conception and the Dominican substitution

[142] Solange Corbin discusses this office in 'L'office en vers "Gaude Mater Ecclesia" pour la Conception de la Vierge', *Atti del Congresso internazionale di musica sacra organizzato dal Pontificio Istituto di musica sacra e dalla Commissione di musica sacra per l'Anno Santo*, ed. by Higino Anglés (Tournai: Desclée, 1952), pp. 284–86.

of a sanctification feast for that of the Conception. Chants for this feast are found in CarK2 by a later hand, beginning on folio 206 and in CarK5, beginning on folio 96ᵛ, where the 'H' for 'Haec est regina' is also historiated, shown as our Figure 5. This marks the second such example of an historiated initial for the same chant in a set of antiphonals with very few such illuminations, thus giving an idea of the importance of this 'Hec est regina' chant honouring Mary as queen in the Kraków Carmelite liturgy. These first Vespers antiphons also are used in CarK2, folios 206–207, although in a later hand, while the rest of the office is updated to conform to the Tridentine revision, using palimpsest chants while keeping the original decorated letters intact, as shown in Figures 6a–c. A similar but not identical series of first Vespers antiphons was used in the diocese of Chartres as evidenced by the fifteenth-century breviary, Paris, BnF, MS latin 1053, which lists the chants on folio 245 as 'Hec est regina', 'Te decus virgineum', 'Beata es virgo', 'Beata dei genitrix', and 'Gaude Maria virgo'. Thus three out of the five antiphons are the same between the two usages; this is not surprising, since the Holy Sepulchre rite itself was essentially a French tradition. Despite some similarity to the Chartres tradition, however, the Carmelite version of this and the other Marian Vespers liturgies remains distinctive.

As in other Marian feasts, the chants used for this feast in CarK5 are all consistent with those prescribed by Sibert's ordinal, thus with a distinctive liturgical organization but using standard Marian chants. This distinctively Carmelite organization of chants for this feast contrasts with chants in other religious order and diocesan rites, including the practice of the diocese of Kraków, which also maintained a strong Marian devotion at its celebrated Mariacki (St Mary) church and elsewhere. Thus a Kraków diocesan breviary dating to the early fifteenth century, Kraków, Jagellonian University Library, MS 1255[143] [Kra1] includes the office for the Conception of the Virgin, beginning on folio 306, but uses a rhymed office whose first Vespers antiphons are: 'Alma promat ecclesia', 'Ex Davidis progenie', 'Iam salus instat', 'O Miranda conceptio', and (on fol. 306ᵛ) 'Virgo sacrata spiritu'.[144] This provides yet

[143] The manuscript is described in *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum*, ed. by Maria Kowalczyk, and others, VII, 274–78.

[144] The full texts for this office are given in Hughes's, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, I, YC53; this corresponds to the version in Guida Maria Dreves and Clemens Blume, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. by C. Blume and G. M. Dreves, 55 vols (Leipzig: Fues, 1886–1922; repr. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1961), V, 14, pp. 53–56.

another example of a localized rhymed office, in this case from Kraków, whose adoption the Carmelites resisted, preferring instead their own distinctive set of chants to celebrate the Conception feast. The last Carmelite Matins responsory, 'Felix namque', includes a standard verse adapted to this specific Marian feast: 'Ora pro populo interveni pro clero intercede pro devoto femineo sexu, sentiant omnes tuum iuvamen quicumque celebrant tuam conceptionem' (fol. 101); Sibert's ordinal (p. 268) stipulated the rubric as 'Ora pro populo, etc. : tuam sanctificationem', which the Kraków Carmelites declined to use.



Figure 5: Historiated 'H' for 'Hec est regina' in CarK5, fol. 96^{v}.



Figure 6a: Chants for the Conception in <u>CarK2</u>, fol. 206.

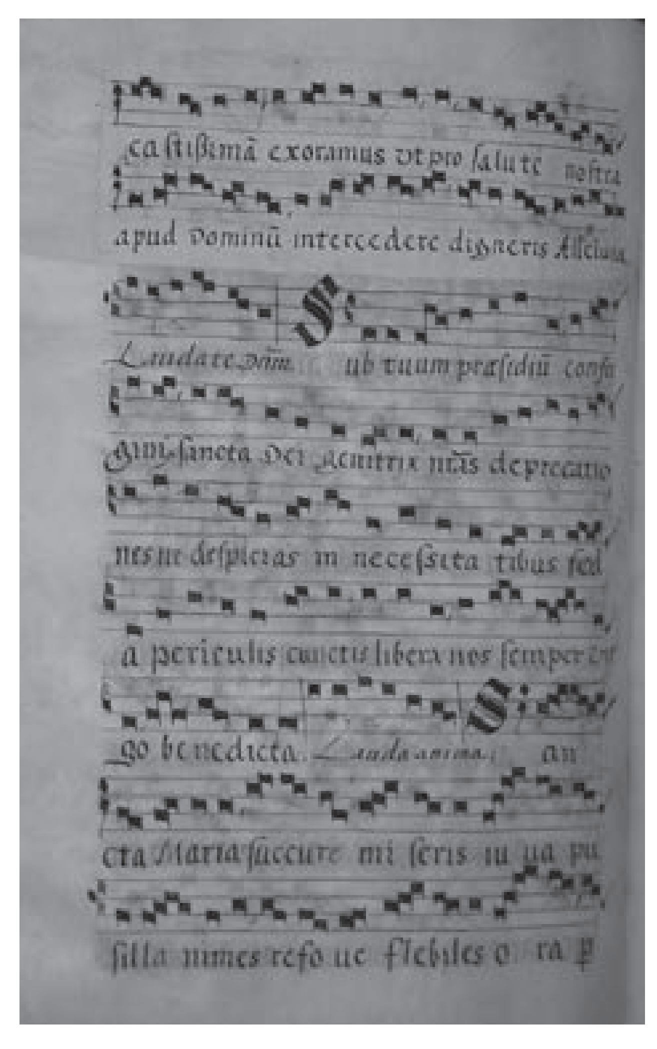


Figure 6b: Chants for the Conception in CarK2, fol. 206v.



Figure 6c: Chants for the Conception in CarK2, fol. 207.

Visitation (2 July). The feast of the Visitation (2 July), as the patronal feast of the convent, was particularly important for the Kraków Carmelites. A feast whose eastern origins date to the latter part of the fifth century as a commemoration of the translation of the Virgin's mantle from Palestine to Constantinople,[145] it was promulgated in the west by Pope Boniface IX, the same pope whose bull of 1401 established the Carmelites in Kraków. Boniface IX's bull, *Superni benignitas conditoris*, issued in 1389 for the purpose of ending

[145] Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, p. 40.

the western schism,[146] directed that the office composed by the English Benedictine Cardinal Adam Easton (d. 1397), beginning with 'Accedunt laudes virginis' as the first antiphon for first Vespers, and modelled on the 'Franciscus vir catholicus' metrical office for the feast of St Francis, be used to celebrate the feast.[147] The promulgation of this feast thus relates closely to the political aims of the Roman pontiff in reconciling the Church under one head, which political aspirations were also shared by Queen Jadwiga and King Władisław Jagiełło, as discussed in Chapter 1.

The Carmelites accepted the Visitation feast into their liturgy by the General Chapter of Frankfurt of 1393, mandating that 'fiat Officium missum a Summo Pontifice', thus endorsing the office mandated by the papal bull.[148] This marks one of the rare instances in which the Carmelites allowed first Vespers antiphons other than the 'Hec est regina' series to be used for a Marian office. Their acceptance of the papal version of the Visitation office contrasts with the Dominicans, whose Roman master general Raymond of Capua composed a rhymed office for the feast, beginning with 'Collaetentur corda fidelium' as the beginning antiphon for first Vespers.[149]

While Boniface IX's bull prescribed that the Adam Easton office be used to celebrate the feast, the Carmelites of Prague, in composing CarK1, decided to use an alternate rhymed office, composed by the local archbishop, John of Jenstein, instead.[150] The Carmelites thus adopted the Visitation feast, endorsed the office written by John of Jenstein and named their convent in its honour, thereby complying substantially with the political and spiritual aims of Boniface IX, Queen Jadwiga, and the Archbishop of Prague.

[146] Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, p. 40. The text of the bull is reproduced in *Magnum Bullarium Romanum, ab Leone Magno usque ad S. D. N. Clementen X . . .*, new edn, 5 vols (Lyon: Sumptibus Petri Borde, Arnaud, 1692), I, 293–94.

[147] An acrostic in the office itself designates Adam Easton as its author; Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, I, YV42,; and corresponds to *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. by Blume and Dreves, XXIV, 29, pp. 89–94.

[148] *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, ed. by Wessels, I, 109–10.

[149] Bonniwell, *History of the Dominican Liturgy*, pp. 231–32 and p. 232 note 20.

[150] This office, beginning with 'Exurgens [autem] Maria' for the first antiphon of first Vespers, is found in Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, I, YV55 also identified as *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. by Blume and Dreves, XLVIII, 399, pp. 427–29. The occasional variant between these versions and the one used by the Carmelites can be detected, but the Carmelites essentially adopted the Jenstein office for the feast.

Since the chants for the Visitation in CarK1 have been substantially reworked and since the chants are now present only in partial form in CarK1 and CarK3, our Table 9 lists the complete series of chants for this feast as found in Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Codex C [CarMC], beginning on folio 196[151] and compares them against the version found in these two Kraków Carmelite antiphonals. In many cases in CarK1 only the beginning letters of the original Kraków version have remained intact, but they nonetheless suffice to demonstrate that it is the same office.

Table 9: Feast of the Visitation

Chant		Incipit	CarMC	CarK1	CarK3
Service	Prayer				
1Vesp	Ant1	Exurgens Maria abiit			
		Ps. Laudate pueri	196	77	
	Ant2	Et factum est			
		Ps. Laudate Dominum	197	78	
	Ant3	Exclamavit Elyzabeth			
		Ps. Lauda anima	198	78*	
	Ant4	Et unde michi			
		Ps. Laudate Dominum	198^{v}	79	
	Ant5	Et beata que credidisti			
		Ps. Lauda Jerusalem	199	79	
	R	Vox turturis audita			
		v. Vox enim tua	199		
	R	Magnificat anima mea			
		v. Ecce enim est hoc			
		v. Gloria patri		79*	
	Mag	O quanta vis amoris			
		Ps. Magnificat	200^{v}	80*	
Comp	NcD	Gaude Maria mater			
		Ps. Nunc dimittis	201		
Matins	Inv	In honore virginis			
		Ps. Venite	201		
Noct1	Ant1	Quam gloriosam et admirabilem			
		Ps. Domine Dominus	201^{v}		
	Ant2	[Missing]			
	Ant3	[Missing]			

[151] These chants have been edited in Boyce, '*Cantica Carmelitana*', II, 82–125.

Chant Service	Chant Prayer	Incipit	CarMC	CarK1	CarK3
	R1	[Missing]			
		v. Audi filia et vide	203		
	R2	En dilectus meus			
		v. Quam dulcia faucibus	203		111
	R3	Ibo ad montem myrre			
		v. Viam mandatorum			
		v. Gloria patri	203		111
Noct2	Ant1	Verbum bonum virgo			
		Ps. Eructavit	204v		111
	Ant2	Torrens sacrati fluminis			
		Ps. Deus noster refugium	205		111v
	Ant3	O dilecta civitas			
		Ps. Fundamenta	205v		111v
	V	Specie tua et pulchritudine	205v*		111v*
	R1	Ecce iste venit saliens			
		v. Exultavit et gygas	205v		111v
	R2	Felices matres sed nati			
		v. Felix domus	206v		111v
	R3	O preclara stella			114
		v. Ad te clamant	207		(2Vesp, R)
Noct3	Ant1	Magna mirabilia			
		Ps. Cantate (primus)	208		
	Ant2	Exultet terra			
		Ps. Dominus regnavit	208v		
	Ant3	Novum tibi virgo			
		Ps. Cantate (secundus)	208v		
	R1	Speciosas filias			
		v. Exulta et lauda	209		
	R2	Ait autem Maria			
		v. Et misericordia	209v		113
	R3	Magnificat anima mea			
		v. Ecce enim ex hoc	210v		
Lauds	Ant1	In Marie virginis			
		Ps. Dominus regnavit	211		113
	Ant2	Iubilet Deo omnis			
		Ps. Jubilate	211v		113v
	Ant3	Fecit Dominus potentiam			
		Ps. Deus Deus meus	211v		113v
	Ant4	Deposuit potentes			
		Ps. Benedicite	212		113v
	Ant5	Esurientes implevit	212		113v

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	CarMC	CarK1	CarK3
		Ps. Laudate Dominum			
	H	O gloriosa domina	212*		113v *
	V	Elegit eam	212		113v *
	Ben	Benedictus Dominus Deus			
		Ps. Benedictus	212v		113v
2Vesp	R	Suscepit israhel			113
		v. Juravit Dominus	214		(Noct3, R3)
	R	O preclara stella maris			
		v. Ad te clamant omnes			
		v. Gloria patri			114
	H	Assunt festa jubilaea	214v*		114*
	V	Fecit mihi	214v *		114*
	Mag	Magnificet Dominum			
		Ps. Magnificat	214v		

In the course of revising CarK1 for eighteenth-century usage, several of the Visitation chants were replaced by palimpsest antiphons according to the revised Carmelite liturgy, but the capital letters have been preserved intact, as shown in our Figures 7a and 7b. Thus the 'E' for 'Exurgens', beginning on page 77 in CarK1, has a decorated initial 'E', showing the importance of this office for the Kraków Carmelites.[152] Rubrics by a later hand refer the reader to chants for the feast of the Nativity of Mary on the now missing page 195, indicating that the word 'Nativitas' should be changed to 'Visitatio' as necessary; thus more conventional chants for this feast were used by the Kraków Carmelites after 1743 and possibly before that date as well. Four out of the five Vespers antiphons, 'Exurgens autem Maria', 'Et factum est', 'Et unde michi', and 'Et beata que credidisti' have retained both text and music intact. The third antiphon has had its original text, 'Exclamavit Elizabeth', replaced by a palimpsest one, 'Solemnitatem', while keeping its decorated 'E' intact. The Vespers responsory at the bottom of the page originally began with 'M' and then had palimpsest text beginning with 'Christi' added to it. The final chant contains only the beginning 'O' at the bottom of the page, since the folios which follow it were not included in the revised manuscript. This 'O' probably begins the Magnificat chant, 'O quanta vis', although in this case the opening melody used in Kraków does not agree with the Mainz version. Another series of chants from the same office are preserved in CarK3, including a number of the Matins chants as well, but limited to three folios, 111, 113, and

[152] Boyce, 'The Carmelite Choirbooks of Krakow', pp. 17-34.

114; unfortunately a number of folios have been excised from the manuscript. We show the chants from folio 111 in our Figures 7c and 7d. This folio contains 'Quam dulcia faucibus', the verse to 'En dilectus meus', the second responsory of the first nocturn, followed by the 3rd responsory, 'Ibo ad montem myrrhae', with its verse 'Viam mandatorum'. The folio also has the second nocturn antiphons, 'Verbum bonum virgo', 'Torrens sacrati fluminis', 'O dilecta civitas', and the responsory 'Ecce iste venit saliens' with its verse 'Exultavit ut gigas', concluding with the beginning of the second responsory, 'Felices matres sed nati'.

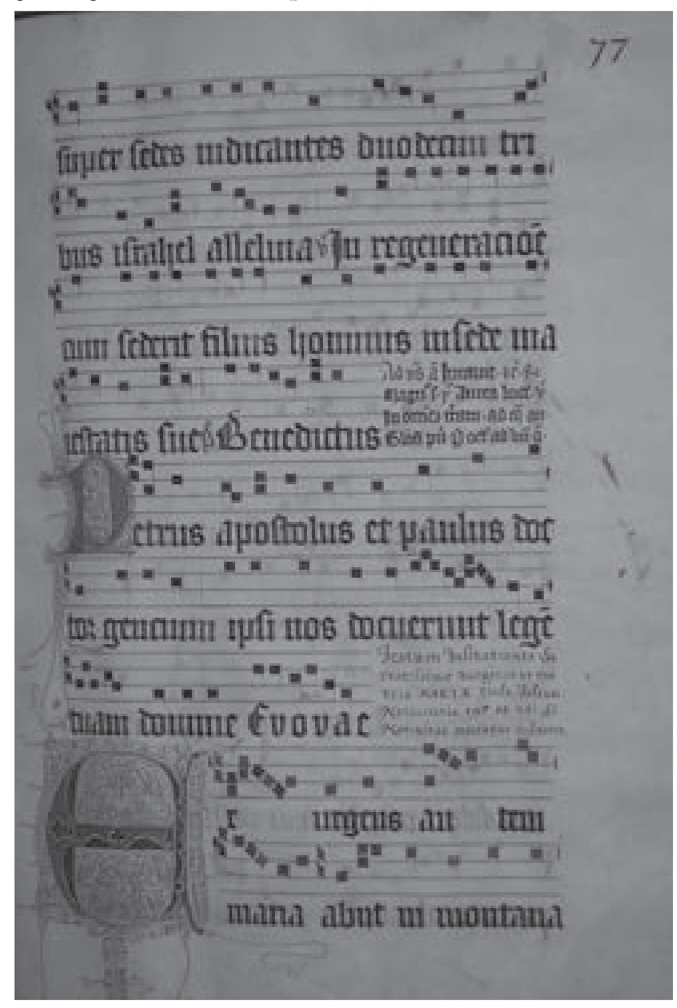


Figure 7a: Chants for the Visitation in <u>CarK1</u>, pp. 77.



Figure 7b: Chants for the Visitation in CarK1, p. 78.



Figure 7c: Chants for the Visitation in CarK3, fol. 111



Figure 7d: Chants for the Visitation in CarK3, fol. 111v.

The full series of texts in CarMC enables us to reconstruct part of the office from CarK1 and CarK3 in Kraków, to a sufficient extent to enable us to conclude that the Jenstein office was indeed used in the Kraków convent. Ironically, although the Carmelite constitutions of a chapter held in 1393 in Frankfurt endorsed the use of the Adam Easton office as promulgated by Boniface IX in his papal bull, the two surviving examples of the office in Carmelite manuscripts both used the same 'Exurgens Maria' office of John of

Jenstein instead. Thus in their choice of rhymed office texts for this Visitation feast the Kraków Carmelites made a liturgical and political statement about their allegiance to John of Jenstein as well as about their loyalty to Queen Jadwiga and Pope Boniface. This office in turn became part of the tradition in Mainz and perhaps other Carmelite convents as well, so that their initial decision to adopt this office rather than the one promulgated by the pope had far-reaching liturgical implications.

While the Mainz Carmelites used the same texts from the Jenstein Visitation office as did the Kraków Carmelites, they did not use the same music. Thus a comparison of the surviving pieces in CarK1 against their counterparts in CarMC shows that the music is entirely different. For instance, the opening first Vespers antiphons, 'Exurgens Maria' in Mainz and 'Exurgens autem Maria' in Kraków, are both in mode 1, but with a different melody in each case, as our Example 12 in Part IV demonstrates. The second antiphon, 'Et factum est', is in mode 2 in both instances but again uses a different melody in each version. The text of 'Exclamavit Elizabeth' in CarK1 has been replaced with the palimpsest 'Solemnitatem Magdalenae', but the music has remained intact; both Mainz and Kraków versions are in mode 3, but with different melodies. Similarly the fourth antiphon for first Vespers, 'Et unde michi', is in fourth mode in both cases, and the fifth antiphon, 'Et beata que credidisti', is in fifth mode but both versions have different melodies. The surviving 'M' on page 79 of CarK1 has been replaced by a palimpsest text, 'Christi virgo dilectissima', so that one must conjecture what the original text was. The most likely possibility is 'Magnificet anima mea', the ninth Matins responsory which often is used in first Vespers as well; the opening letter of the verse is not very clear, especially since the verse too now has the palimpsest text 'Quoniam peccatorum', but the letter probably is 'E' and thus fits with the verse to this responsory, 'Ecce enim ex hoc beatam'. The music is entirely different in the Kraków and Mainz versions of this piece, presuming that 'Magnificat anima mea' is in fact the correct responsory in the Kraków liturgy. The Mainz version is in mode 2 while the Kraków version is in mode 6 transposed up a fifth. The Mainz Carmelites used a different responsory, 'Vox turturis', with its verse, 'Ostende michi faciem', as the responsory for first Vespers. The surviving 'O' on page 80 of CarK1 probably served as the beginning of 'O quanta vis', the Magnificat antiphon, as is the case in CarMC, although the music over 'O' in Kraków is entirely different from the opening music of the Mainz Carmelite version, so that one can safely presume that the melodies were entirely different in both cases between the two versions.

CarK3 preserves a few chants from the Visitation office on folios 111[r-v], 113[r–v], and 114[r], with *lacunae* before and after folio 111 where the rest of the office originally must have been situated. The opening chant on folio 111 is the second Matins responsory, '[En dilectus] meus loquitur', with its verse 'Quam dulcia faucibus', in mode 2 in the Kraków version; the Mainz version is also in mode 2, but with an entirely different melody for both responsory and verse. The third Matins responsory is 'Ibo ad montem myrre', with its verse 'Viam mandatorum tuorum', in mode 7 in CarMC and in mode 3 in CarK3; the Kraków version begins with 'Ibo michi ad montem' rather than simply 'Ibo ad montem'. The Kraków version also includes the doxology, as befits the last responsory of the first Matins nocturn. The second nocturn pieces are the antiphons 1) 'Verbum bonum virgo', in mode 4, 2) 'Torrens sacrati fluminis', in mode 5, and 3) 'O dilecta civitas', in mode 6, all three with different music in the Kraków and Mainz versions. The first Matins responsory is 'Ecce iste venit saliens', with its verse, 'Exultavit ut gigas', in mode 4 but with different music in each version. The second responsory, 'Felices matres', is incomplete in the Kraków version, so that one cannot determine the mode with certainty, but the opening music here is predictably different from its Mainz counterpart. A similar situation applies to the chants on folios 113–114 in CarK3.

Even though the musical evidence is incomplete, enough remains from the Kraków Carmelite version of the feast for us to conclude that in both the Mainz and Kraków versions the Carmelites took great care to follow a sequential modal ordering of pieces, as was characteristic of rhymed offices, but that the Kraków version did not influence the Mainz version musically. The occasional textual variant between the two versions also suggests that both convents used the John of Jenstein rhymed office, rather than the Adam Easton office promulgated by the pope, independently of one another. The completely different musical versions of the surviving Kraków chants from their Mainz Carmelite counterparts suggest that only the texts of the office rather than any standardized music were adopted by the Carmelites. The same textual consistency with musical variety that characterized the Carmelite chant tradition in general applies as well to this specific instance. At the very least, what remains of this Kraków Carmelite Visitation office indicates that it was celebrated in the style of a rhymed office, with newly composed or at least newly adapted music that was distinct from the general chant repertory and appropriate to a rhymed office, especially one honouring the patronal feast of the Kraków convent.

Our Lady of the Snows (5 August). The feast of Our Lady of the Snows is based upon the tradition that the Virgin Mary chose a specific location in Rome for a new church under her invocation and indicated its location by a miraculous fall of snow in the summer, an event usually dated to 5 August 352; the Virgin Mary appeared in a vision to a patrician named John who then endowed the church. All this took place during the pontificate of Pope Liberius in the fourth century. The church was restored and consecrated by Sixtus III under the title of the Virgin Mary around 435, so that this third of the patriarchal basilicas in Rome is known as St Mary Major (Santa Maria Maggiore).[153] The feast was extended to the other churches of Rome as well as to dioceses in Italy and Germany in the fourteenth century:[154] instituted by Urban VI in 1378, the feast was confirmed by Gregory XI in 1380,[155] then eventually elevated to a major feast and imposed on the universal church in 1558.[156] The date of its initial extension to the other churches of Rome and to some dioceses beyond Rome in the fourteenth century explains its entrance into the Carmelite liturgy at the General Chapter of Frankfurt in 1393:

> Quantum ad Ordinationes et Constitutiones. Primo ordinaverunt, quod fiat omni anno in die B[eat].i Dominici de Mense Augusti totum Duplex Festum Sanctae Mariae de Nive et Festum Dominici transferatur in proximum diem vacantem et fiat Officium sicut consuevit fieri diebus Sabbathinis de Commemoratione Beatae Virginis: sed Lectiones sumantur de legenda, seu Miraculo praedicti Festi.[157]
>
> With regard to the norms and constitutions. First of all, they prescribe that, every year on the feast of blessed Dominic in the month of August, the *totum duplex* feast of St Mary of the Snow be done, and the feast of St Dominic be transferred to the next free day; and let the office be done as customarily on Saturdays in commemoration of the Blessed Virgin, but let the readings be taken from the legend or miracle of the aforesaid feast.

The chapter thus established the feast of St Dominic, 5 August, as the date for the celebration of this new feast of Our Lady of the Snows, and mandated that the feast of St Dominic be transferred to the first available date, probably because the next day, 6 August, was already dedicated to the feast of the

[153] *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Thurston and Attwater, III, 265.

[154] F. G. Holweck, *Fasti Mariani sive Calendarium Festorum Sanctae Mariae Virginis Deiparae: Memoriis Historicis Illustratum* (Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder, 1892), p. 164.

[155] Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, I, YV 40-55.

[156] Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, I, YN 41-5.

[157] *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, ed. by Wessels, I, 109.

Transfiguration. The chapter also prescribed that chants from the Saturday commemoration of the Virgin be used to celebrate the feast, at least at the outset, while the readings should be taken from the proper account of the miracle of the snowfall. By mandating that the chants come from the Saturday commemoration of the Virgin, essentially a common fund of Marian chants, the Carmelites inserted this feast into the context of their well-established Marian tradition. The chants for the feast, beginning on folio 259^{v} in Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Codex C [CarMC], follow this prescription and use standard Marian chants, but the Kraków Carmelite version uses a proper rhymed office instead. The feast of Our Lady of the Snows was of particular significance for the Kraków Carmelites, since it was the patronal feast of the founding convent of Prague.[158] Allan Braham, in an article concerning an altar-piece in Santa Maria Maggiore, discusses the political implications of the feast, especially in relationship to the Emperor Sigismund (1368–1437) second son of Charles IV (1316–78) of Bohemia, whose eventual convening of the Council of Konstanz (1414–18) successfully ended the western schism.[159] Braham compares the snows around Lake Konstanz to the miraculous snow in Rome and sees the altar-piece he discusses as an allegory for the healing of the schism.[160] While the council obviously postdates the office in this Kraków manuscript, and while the painting Braham discusses dates to the fifteenth century, it is entirely plausible that this feast of Our Lady of the Snows, like the Visitation feast, may also be associated with the healing of the western schism and the long awaited reunification of the Church. The enthusiasm of Archbishop John of Jenstein for this feast[161] as well as for the Visitation may have been responsible for the Carmelites dedicating their Prague convent in honour of this Marian feast when they arrived there from Germany in 1347.[162]

[158] Muk and Novosadová, 'Bývaly klášter karmelitán', pp. 103–10.

[159] Allan Braham, 'The Emperor Sigismund and the Santa Maria Maggiore Altar-Piece', *The Burlington Magazine*, 122 (1980), 106–12. The Council of Konstanz is briefly discussed in the Internet Medieval Sourcebook from Fordham University: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/constance1.html> [accessed August 16 2008]. See also E. P. Colbert and B. Tierney 'Constance, Council of', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV, 168–73.

[160] Braham, 'The Emperor Sigismund and the Santa Maria Maggiore Altar-Piece', p. 112.

[161] Ruben Ernest Weltsch, *Archbishop John of Jenstein (1348-1400): Papalism, Humanism, and Reform in Pre-Hussite Prague* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), especially pp. 124–30.

[162] Deckert, *Die Oberdeutsche Provinz der Karmeliten*, p. 29.

The office as found in CarK1, beginning on page 108, prescribes the 'Haec est regina' series of chants for first Vespers, thus allying it with established Carmelite tradition, then uses a rhymed office, presumably of Bohemian origin, for the rest of the office texts. Thus the chant 'O dei tabernaculum candore' serves as the responsory for first Vespers, followed by a complete series of proper chants. Although Andrew Hughes has published the texts for five offices for Our Lady of the Snows,[163] the Carmelite version remains distinct from all of them. Selected chants for this office occur in some manuscripts cited by Dreves and Blume in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*,[164] but only to a limited extent and not in the same liturgical function as in the published version. Table 10 shows the chants for this feast as found in CarK1, indicating published sources for the chant texts and also indicating the mode of each chant. The single invitatory antiphon, 'Imperatricis omnium festa', is cited by Andrew Hughes as office no. 2 for Our Lady of the Snows.[165] Eight other chants in the Carmelite version derive from another office for this feast, whose author Hughes has identified as the Prague archbishop John of Jenstein. This office has also been published by Hughes in *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices* and is also found in *Analecta Hymnica*.[166] Thus here, as in the case of the Visitation office, the literary efforts of the Bishop of the founding Carmelite community of Prague came to be celebrated liturgically in the new convent of Kraków, thus incorporating his devotion to the Virgin Mary into their own liturgical tradition. Nevertheless, the Carmelites evidently did not simply incorporate John of Jenstein's office in its entirety into their own tradition. This Kraków Carmelite version seems to be a compilation of the two sources stated above and of one or more unknown offices for the feast, unless the remaining chants were actually composed by the Prague Carmelites. In addition, they made changes to the John of Jenstein

[163] This office no. 2 of Hughes's *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, <http://hlub.dyndns.org/projekten/webplek/CANTUS/HTML/CANTUS_index.htm> [accessed 16 August 2008], YV41–45.

[164] *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. by Blume and Dreves, xlviii, 428–33; xxiv, 184.

[165] This office no. 2 of Hughes's *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, <http://hlub.dyndns.org/projekten/webplek/CANTUS/HTML/CANTUS_index.htm> [accessed 16 August 2008], YN42 and *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. by Blume and Dreves, xxiv, 184.

[166] This office no. 5 in Hughes's *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, <http://hlub.dyndns.org/projekten/webplek/CANTUS/HTML/CANTUS_index.htm> [accessed 16 August 2008], YN45 and in *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. by Blume and Dreves, xlviii, 429–31.

version of some of the responsories: thus 'Tu que dealbatus eris' has the verse 'Et non timebis' in the *Analecta Hymnica* version[167] and 'Castitate illibate' in the Carmelite text; similarly 'Formam nobis tunc ostendis' has the verse 'Quia uterus tuus' in the *Analecta Hymnica* version[168] and 'O benigna tu' in the Carmelite text. Moreover, all the other chants for the office remain unidentified and possibly were composed by the Carmelites themselves. Since these texts are not found in *Analecta Hymnica*, Hughes's *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, or any of the sources currently inventoried by CANTUS at the University of Western Ontario (apart from this source) these remaining chants are at least very rare if not uniquely Carmelite. The rubric beginning the office states that it is to be observed as a *totum duplex* feast, with entirely proper chants. The page numbers in the left column of Table 10 reflect the reorganization of the manuscript when it was revised and rebound in 1743, at which time folio numbers were replaced with page numbers. One folio was taken from this office and inserted into the office of St Anne, enabling the Carmelites to replace the first Lauds antiphon, whose text originally began with a word starting with 'V', with the antiphon 'Nigra sum sed formosa', now applied to St Anne. Thus chants from the eighth responsory of Matins up to the beginning of the Benedictus antiphon, all found on this folio, now are found in the office of St Anne rather than Our Lady of the Snows. Similarly, the Magnificat antiphon for this feast originally began with a chant starting with 'S', over which a palimpsest text, 'Descendi in hortum', has been inserted, followed by the antiphon 'Ave regina celorum'. The antiphons for this feast are generally organized in a modal order of modes 1 through 8, followed by mode 1 for the last Matins antiphon, a common practice in rhymed offices. The seventh antiphon, 'Qui vere Deum contemplantur', is confusing, because it is not clear whether it should be in mode 5 or mode 7, as we shall discuss in Example 16 of Part IV. The ending formula of the psalm tone, known as a *differentia*, does not agree with the overall mode of the piece. Possibly it was adapted into a mode 7 framework to accommodate the modal order. The responsories follow a modal order for the first nocturn, but not afterwards, so the modal order of Matins is less successful for the responsories than for the antiphons.[169] This office surely

[167] *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. by Blume and Dreves, XLVIII, 130.

[168] *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. by Blume and Dreves, XLVIII, 130.

[169] The question of modal ordering of chants in offices, particularly metrical or rhymed offices, has been discussed by Andrew Hughes, 'Modal Order and Disorder in the Rhymed Office', *Musica Disciplina*, 37 (1983), 29–51.

formed an important part of the liturgy celebrated in the Carmelite convent of Prague. It implicitly celebrated the local Carmelites' relationship with their Archbishop, whose enthusiasm for the Virgin Mary they shared fully and whose literary achievements they obviously respected. Since the feast of Our Lady of the Snows is not included in the fifteenth-century Kraków Breviary, Jagellonian University Library, MS 1255 (Kra1), the Kraków Carmelite liturgy for this feast may have been the only one celebrated in Kraków. The feast thus forged a link between the Prague and Kraków Carmelites which paralleled the bonds that Queen Jadwiga ardently tried to establish between the two cities.

Table 10 Feast of Our Lady of the Snows

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	CarK1	Mode	AHMA
1Vesp	Ant1	Haec est regina virginum	108	*	
	R	O Dei tabernaculum candore			
		v. Pulchrior syderibus			
		v. Gloria patri	108	1	48:430
	Mag	En obstupescit animus			
		Ps. Magnificat	109	6	48:433
Matins	Inv	Imperatricis omnium festa			
		Ps. Venite	110	2	24:184
	H	Quem terra	110	*	
Noct1	Ant1	Kauma gelu nix pruine			
		Ps. Domine Dominus noster	110	1	
	Ant2	Ut maduit vellus sic ningitur			
		Ps. Celi enarrant	111	2	48:429
	Ant3	Ebore candidior antique virgo			
		Ps. Domini est terra	111	3	
	V	Diffusa est gratia	111	*	
	R1	Nix descendens in estate			
		v. Virgini tunc eximie	111	1	
	R2	Et in adversas figures			
		v. Virgini huis preclare	112	2	
	R3	Quam beatus est qui lotus est			
		v. Caste prolis festa matris			
		v. Gloria patri	112	3	
Noct2	Ant1	Nix et grando solis			
		Ps. Eructavit	113	4	
	Ant2	In Maria hec inventa sunt			
		Ps. Deus noster	113	5	
	Ant3	Hec est lapis pretiosus			

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	CarK1	Mode	AHMA
		Ps. Fundamenta	114	6	
	V	Specia tua et pulchritudine	114	*	
	R1	Et frigens tempore			
		v. Secuntur candidularum	114	1	
	R2	Tu qui dealbatus eris			
		v. Castitatem illibate	115	5	48:430
	R3	Formam nobis tunc ostendis			
		v. O benigna tu attende			
		v. Gloria patri	115	3	48:430
Noct3	Ant1	Qui vere deum contemplantur			
		Ps. Cantate (primus)	116	7	48:430
	Ant2	Leonem in medio			
		Ps. Donimus regnavit	117	8	48:430
	Ant3	In hac antiquis dierum			
		Ps. Cantate (secundus)	117	1	48:430
	V	Adiuvabit eam Deus vultu	117	*	
	R1	Tu amoenans paradisus soli Deo			
		v. Deo tu propinquior	117	6	
	R2	Mater Domini sublimis	118		
		v. In hac valle	101	6	
Lauds	Ant1	(V) (N)igra sum sed formosa			
		Ps. [Rewritten as Benedictus]	101	1	
	Ant2	Thesauros ingressa nivis			
		Ps. Jubilate	101	2	
	Ant3	Voce exultationis laudet			
		Ps. Deus Deus	102	3	
	Ant4	Thronus summe trinitatis			
		Ps. Benedicite	102	4	
	Ant5	Pro mortu virgo			
		Ps. Laudate Dominum	102	5	
	H	O gloriosa	102	*	
	V	Elegit eam	102	*	
	Ben	Templum nive formaliter Rome que	102	1	
		Ps. Benedictus			
2Vesp	Mag	S**			
		Ave regina celorum			
		Descendi in hortum***			
		Ps. Magnificat	121		

** capital initial left intact

*** palimpsest

Presentation (21 November). The third feast accepted into the Carmelite liturgy in 1393, the Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the temple (21 November), is noticeably absent from the Kraków manuscripts. While it may have been removed from CarK1 in the course of revisions of the manuscript, this is rather unlikely: the rhymed 'Letare Germania' office for St Elizabeth of Hungary, beginning on page 338, was left intact, even though this saint was not generally celebrated in the Carmelite tradition. An original chant, 'Ave rex gentis Anglorum',[170] for the preceding feast of St Edmund (20 November)[171] was replaced by a later one, but its opening 'A' was left untouched. Thus, had the Presentation office been used originally in this manuscript, it is very likely that at least some part of it would have survived. CarK3 includes chants for St Edmund (fol. 177^{v}) followed by St Cecilia (fol. 178) with no indication that an office of the Presentation ever separated the two, even though by 1468, when this manuscript was written, such a celebration was normative throughout the order. The chapter acts which accepted the feast into the liturgy fixed the date of its celebration as a *duplex* feast between the feasts of St Edmund (20 November) and St Cecilia (22 November).[172]

A number of reasons may have contributed to the Presentation feast's absence in Kraków Carmelite usage: 1) from a scriptural point of view it is based on the apocryphal Gospels of James 7. 2–3 and Pseudo-Matthew rather than on one of the four Gospels later established by the Council of Trent as canonical, so that it was not as thoroughly grounded in orthodoxy as the Visitation feast, based on Luke's Gospel (Luke 1. 39–56), for instance; 2) the main champion of the feast was the crusader Philippe de Mézières, a layman rather than a cleric; and 3) the circumstances of its inauguration in Avignon, just a few years prior to the western schism, may have politically undermined its later universal acceptance.

The point of departure for its western celebration was its celebration in the Franciscan church in Avignon on 21 November 1372 in the presence of the

[170] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 262.

[171] Rodney M. Thomson has established that this 'Ave rex gentis Anglorum' chant for St Edmund was written by the Benedictine abbot Warner of the monastery of Rebais; an early example of it may be found in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 736: see his article 'The Music for the Office of St. Edmund King and Martyr', *Music & Letters*, 65 (1984), 189–93 for this discussion.

[172] *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, ed. by Wessels, I, 109–10.

papal court.[173] Despite the close ties of Philippe de Mézières, the feast's chief western promoter, with the Carmelites of Paris,[174] to whom he left money in his will for the celebration of the feast after his death on 29 May 1405,[175] the feast may have been too closely allied with the papal court in Avignon for its celebration to be popular among the Kraków Carmelites, especially since the western schism began only about six years after the feast's inauguration and since the rather more Roman Visitation feast, in keeping with Queen Jadwiga's political objectives, was so specifically aimed at a reconciliation between the two factions. The feast of the Presentation was only established at Rome by Pope Sixtus IV in 1472[176] and was only prescribed for the universal church after the Council of Trent by Sixtus V in 1585.[177] The Presentation office inaugurated in Avignon begins with the text 'Fons ortorum' as the opening antiphon for first Vespers. An acrostic made up of the opening letters of these chants and hymn verses spells out the name of 'Frater Rostagnus', long thought by some writers to be a pseudonym for Philippe himself, leading them to postulate him as the

[173] The early history of this feast, as well as a detailed study of its literary origins, was discussed by Sr Mary Jerome Kishpaugh, O.P., 'The Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple: An Historical and Literary Study' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1941). The complete texts for the inaugural celebration of the feast were edited by William L. Coleman, *Philippe de Mézières' Campaign for the Feast of Mary's Presentation: Edited from Bibliothèque Nationale MSS Latin 17330 and 14454* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981). Coleman dates Paris, BnF, MS latin 17330, to shortly after 21 November 1372 (p. 19). The texts with translation and complete musical transcriptions of the chants have been published in *Officium Presentationis Beate Virginis Marie in Templo, Office of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary which is Celebrated on the 21st Day of November: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS latin 17330, fols. 7r–14r*, ed. and trans. by James Boyce and William E. Coleman, Musicological Studies, 65:5 (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2001). The differences between the versions of this office in MSS 17330 and 14454, its copy, have been discussed in Boyce, 'Das Offizium der Darstellung Mariens', pp. 17–38.

[174] Philippe referred directly to the Carmelites of Paris in his 'Epistola ad nepotem suum' of 1381: Joachim Smet, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1954), p. 32 n. 10.

[175] N. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières 1327–1405 et la croisade du XIVe siècle* (Paris: Bouillon, 1896; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1973), p. 511 n. 2.

[176] Kishpaugh, 'The Feast of the Presentation', p. 129.

[177] Kishpaugh, 'The Feast of the Presentation', p. 132.

author of text and music as well as the feast's promoter.[178] Andrew Hughes has identified 'Frater Rostagnus' as a Dominican friar and has convincingly shown that the music for this office was based on the well-established office of St Dominic.[179] Despite these ties to a Dominican friar as the author of the text and to a well-established office for the music, this Presentation office neither spread very far nor lasted very long. While the 'Fons ortorum' office of Philippe did enjoy some limited acceptance in Carmelite circles,[180] the Carmelites of Florence and Mainz used entirely different chants to celebrate the feast,[181] including a newly composed rhymed office in the Mainz version, based largely on *contrafacta* from the office of St Thomas of Canterbury and other offices.[182] Thus for the Presentation feast the Kraków Carmelites allowed political discretion to outweigh their own Chapter acts and seemingly chose not to observe this feast. The absence of such a prominent Marian feast in these manuscripts is itself highly significant.

St Mary Magdalene (22 July)

Medieval practice generally conflated three women named Mary into the one person of Mary Magdalene, presumably known as Mary of Magdala, after the

[178] William Coleman notes that some liturgists attributed the composition of the sequence for the Mass and the entire office to Philippe, a position he does not share, then discusses this question of authorship on pp. 10–13 of *Philippe de Mézières' Campaign*.

[179] Andrew Hughes, '*Fons hortorum*, the Office of the Presentation: Origins and Authorship', in *Die Offizien des Mittelalters: Dichtung und Musik*, ed. Walter Berschin and David Hiley (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1999), pp. 153–77.

[180] This is discussed in James Boyce, O. Carm., 'The Office of the Presentation of Mary in the Carmelite Liturgy', in *The Land of Carmel: Essays in Honor of Joachim Smet, O. Carm.*, ed. by Paul Chandler, O. Carm. and Keith J. Egan (Rome, Institutum Carmelitanum, 1991), pp. 231–45.

[181] These office chants from Florence, Museo di San Marco, codex 575 (V) and Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, codex D, have been edited by Boyce in '*Cantica Carmelitana*', II, 222–66.

[182] The Presentation office occurs in Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, codex D. The composition of this office has been discussed in Boyce, 'The Carmelite Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin: A Study in Musical Adaptation', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 485–518.

town on the western shore of the sea of Galilee. Mary Magdalene's significance derives from her being among the first people to whom Jesus appeared after his resurrection. Mary Magdalene is identified as one of the women to discover the empty tomb in Mark 16. 1, but in the longer ending to Mark's Gospel she is identified as 'Mary Magdalene, out of whom he [i.e., Jesus] had cast seven demons' (Mark 16. 9). In John's Gospel she is the first to discover the tomb, followed by Simon Peter, and the beloved disciple (John 20. 1–2). This is presumably the same woman as Mary of Magdala in Luke's Gospel (Luke 24. 10). Mary Magdalene has also been conflated with Mary of Bethany who anointed Jesus' feet with aromatic nard and wiped them with her hair in John 12. 3, as the unnamed woman taken in adultery in John 8. 1–11, as 'Mary, called the Magdalene, from whom seven devils had gone out' in Luke 8. 2 (as in Mark 16. 9 above), and as the sister of Martha and Lazarus who, by her contemplative stance towards Jesus, had chosen the better portion in Luke 10. 42. All these references were applied to the same person in the medieval imagination, spurred on in particular by the writing of St Gregory the Great.[183] This conflation of characters by no means went unopposed by other medieval writers, however, especially by the Greeks who kept the feast of Mary as bearer of ointment on 22 July and of the other two personages on separate dates.[184] In addition, Mary Magdalene is identified as one of the women who stood by the cross of Christ in his final agony in Mark 15. 40, who looked on from a distance in Matthew 27. 56, and who was near the cross in John 19. 25. While her presence near the cross of the crucified Jesus is important, Mary Magdalene's role as the first discoverer of the empty tomb on Easter and as the one to whom Jesus appeared after his resurrection is central to her identity. While the eastern tradition had Mary Magdalene accompany the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist to Ephesus, where she died and was buried,[185] the western medieval imagination preferred the more exotic eleventh-century story that linked her to Lazarus, Martha, and the sisters of the Virgin Mary discussed above. According to one of

[183] *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Thurston and Attwater, III, 161–63.

[184] *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Thurston and Attwater, III, 161. Contemporary feminist theologians have been particularly interested in correcting the erroneous view that associated Mary Magdalene with the fallen woman turned penitent. See Elizabeth Schűssler-Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: Crossroad, 1983) as an example of an attempt to offer a more historically and scripturally accurate portrait of this saint. Cf. Susan Haskins, *Mary Magdalen: Myth and Metaphor* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1994).

[185] *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Thurston and Attwater, III, 162.

these traditions their boat landed in Marseille in the south of France; Mary Magdalene lived in a cavern in the rock at Sainte Baume, being miraculously transported again just prior to her death to the chapel of St Maximin, where she received the last rites from the saint before dying.[186] Mary Magdalene's reputed relics were discovered at St Maximin in Provence on 17 December 870 and again in 1279.[187] While eleventh-century shrines at Verdun, Bayeux, Reims, and Besançon give some idea of the extent of the western devotion to St Mary Magdalene,[188] the thirteenth-century dissemination of this story allied her to the Benedictine abbey of Vézelay in Burgundy where her relics were translated from Aix in 1265–67, occasioning a separate feast on 19 March for the translation of her relics, along with a corresponding office. From 1279 the monks of Vézelay have shared the custodial care of her relics with the Dominicans who have custody of the cave at Sainte Baume.[189] Ordinals from the cathedral of Laon from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries contain the feast of St Mary Magdalene as a *duplex* feast.[190] A comparison of chants between the Carmelite ordinal of Sibert de Beka and the Laon ordinal demonstrates numerous correspondences between the two rites but also shows that the Carmelite usage was distinct from, although similar to, that of Laon.

[186] *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Thurston and Attwater, III, 162–63.

[187] F. G. Holweck, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints, with a General Introduction on Hagiology* (St Louis: Herder, 1924), p. 678.

[188] Mgr Victor Saxer, *Le dossier vézelien de Marie Madeleine: Invention et translation des réliques en 1265-67: Contribution à l'histoire du culte de la sainte à Vézelay à l'apogée du Moyen Âge*, Subsidia Hagiographica, 57 (Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1975), pp. 190–91.

[189] *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Thurston and Attwater, III, 162–63.

[190] *Ordinaires de l'église cathédrale de Laon (XIIe et XIIIe siècles): suivis des deux mystères liturgiques*, ed. by Ulysse Chevalier, Bibliothèque liturgique, 6 (Paris: Picard, 1897), pp. 306–07.

Table 11: Feast of St Mary Magdalene

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	Sibert	CarK1	CarK3	CarK12	CarK16	CarK25
1Vesp	Ant1	Solemnitatem Magdalenae				44	72	117
	R	Felix Maria	234	81	114^{v}			
	H	Lauda mater ecclesia	234	81*	114^{v}			
	V	Optimam partem	234	81*				
	V	Specie tua			114^{v}			
	Mag	Recumbente Jesu in domo						
		Ps. Magnificat	234	81*	114^{v}	44	73	117
Matins	Inv	Aeternum trinumque Deum						
		Ps. Venite	235	81	114^{v}			117^{v}
	H	Aeterni patris	235	81*	114^{v} *			
Noct1	Ant1	Cum discubuisset in domo						
		Ps. Domine Dominus	235	81	114^{v}			
	Ant2	Secus pedes ipsius astans						
		Ps. Coeli enarrant	235	82	114^{v}			
	Ant3	Irrigabat igitur dominicos						
		Ps. Domini est terra	235	82	115			
	V	Diffusa est gratia	235	82*	115*			
	R1	Laetetur omne seculum						
		v. Haec Maria fuit illa	235	83	115			
	R2	Optimam partem elegit sibi						
		v. Diligens Dominum ex	235	83	115			
	R3	Maria Magdalena et altera						
		v. Cito euntes dicite	235	84	115^{v}			
Noct2	Ant1	Symon autem intra se inquit						
		Ps. Eructavit	235	84	115^{v}			

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	Sibert	CarK1	CarK3	CarK12	CarK16	CarK25
	Ant2	Et conversus Dominus postquam						
		Ps. Deus noster	235	85	115^v			
	Ant3	Quoniam multum dilexeras						
		Ps. Fundamenta	235	85	115^v			
	V	Specie tua et pulchritudine	235	85	115^v			
	R1	Pectore sincero Dominum Maria						
		v. Abstergat Dominus noxis	235	86	115^v			
	R2	Congratulamini mihi omnes						
		v. Tulerunt Dominum meum	235	86	116			
	R3	Felix Maria unxit pedes Jesu						
		v. Mixto rore balsami fracto		87**				
		v. Gloria patri	235	87	116			
Noct3	Ant1	Satagebat igitur Maria soror						
		Ps. Cantate (primus)	235	87	116			
	Ant2	Non est Martha inquit tibi						
		Ps. Dominus regnavit i.	235	88	116			
	Ant3	Et respondens dixit illi						
		Ps. Cantate (secundus)	235	88	116^v			
	V	Adjuvabit eam Deus	235	88	116^v			
	R1	Tulerunt Dominum meum et						
		v. Dum ergo flerit inclinavit	235	89	116^v			
	R2	Et valde mane una sabbatorum						
		v. Mulieres emerunt aromata	235	90	116^v			
	R3	Dum transisset sabbatum						
		v. Et valde mane una	235	90	116^v			
	V	Optimam partem	235	91	116^v			

Chant		Incipit	Sibert	CarK1	CarK3	CarK12	CarK16	CarK25
Service	Prayer							
Lauds	Ant1	Laudibus excelsis omnis						
		Ps. Dominus regnavit	235	91	116v	45	73	117
	Ant2	Pectore sincero Dominum Maria						
		Ps. Jubilate	235	91	116v	45	73	117v
	Ant3	Sustolle Maria supplicum in						
		Ps. Deus Deus	235	91	116v	45	73	117v
	Ant4	Quo tecum captent aeterni						
		Ps. Benedicite	235	92	116v	46	74	117v
	Ant5	Maria ergo unxit pedes Jesu						
		Ps. Laudate Dominum	235	92	117	46	74	117v
	H	Lauda mater	235	92	117			
	V	Dimissa sunt ei peccata multa	235	92	117			
	Ben	Maria stabat ad monumentum						
		Ps. Benedictus	235	92	117			
2Vesp	Ant1	Laudibus excelsis omnis						
		Ps. Dixit Dominus	235					
	Mag	Celsi meriti Maria quae solem						
		Ps. Magnificat	235	93	117	46	74	117v
	R	Accessit ad pedes Ihesu						
		v. Dimissa sunt ei peccata		93				

** Mixtum rorem in manuscript.

The prominence of St Mary Magdalene in the life of the Church is appropriately reflected in the large number of her offices and particularly in her prominence in the liturgies of France. This in turn is reflected in the distinctive Carmelite tradition, since the rite of the Holy Sepulchre itself was probably based on the usage of one of the French diocesan traditions.[191] Table 11 shows the chants for the medieval office of St Mary Magdalene as found in CarK1 and CarK3 and the ordinal of Sibert de Beka, as well as selected chants from this office which occur in the later manuscripts CarK12, CarK16, and CarK25. While the chants themselves are generally found in at least one other liturgical tradition, their liturgical organization is distinctively Carmelite. The responsory 'Optimam partem', to be discussed as Example 7 in Part IV, refers to Mary having chosen the better part of contemplation in contrast to Martha's active role in tending to the needs of the Lord; this not only reflects the medieval conflation of traditions about Mary Magdalene but also reinforces the particularly Carmelite emphasis on the benefits of the contemplative vocation.

The Cross of Jesus

The Carmelites, as part of the western church tradition, celebrated two feasts of the Cross, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross on 14 September and the Finding of the Cross on 3 May. The history of Christian devotion to the cross was formulated very slowly. Pagans and Jews found the shameful death of Jesus to be irreconcilable with assertions of his divinity, and Christians themselves found this so hard to reconcile that they initially avoided portraying the body of Christ on the cross.[192] While the cross as a devotional symbol was restricted to private devotion, the finding of the true cross and the era of peace it inaugurated for the Church in the fourth century gradually led to the emphasis on the glorified cross, often adorned with jewels by the fifth and sixth centuries.[193]

[191] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, notes the connection between the rite of the Holy Sepulchre and the French tradition in his 'Introduction', pp. v–xxiii, making specific reference to the importance of Paris on p. x and maintaining that the ceremonies for Mass relate to what he calls a 'Gallo-Roman' liturgy on p. xvii. Dondi discusses the influences on the Holy Sepulchre rite in her book, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*.

[192] C. Meinberg and Editors, 'Cross', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV, 378–83.

[193] Meinberg, 'Cross', pp. 378–79.

An early liturgical feast in honour of the cross was connected with the finding of the true cross and the dedication of churches at the sites of the Holy Sepulchre and Calvary in Jerusalem, the *Anastasis* and *Martyrion* respectively, both dedicated on 13 and 14 September 325.[194] An early letter of Constantine to Bishop Macarius of Jerusalem refers to building a church over the tomb of Christ, without specifically mentioning the cross itself.[195] The account of the pilgrim Aetheria mentions the veneration of the wood of the cross on Good Friday in Jerusalem.[196] Three of the four versions of the discovery of the holy cross personally involve the Empress St Helena leading the way to the excavations, either on her own initiative or through divine inspiration.[197] The original feast of the cross was known as *Encaenia*, and then was called 'exaltation' of the cross by Alexander of Cyprus in the sixth century; while this feast was adopted by Rome in the seventh century, the Gallican churches introduced the feast of the 'invention' of the cross on 3 May in the eighth century, a feast closely connected with the recovery of the true cross from the Persians by Heraclius and its solemn return to Jerusalem on that day.[198] Of particular interest is the letter of St Cyril of Jerusalem to the Emperor Constantius II reporting the apparition of a luminous cross in the heavens over Jerusalem on 7 May 351, and also mentioning that the wood of the cross had been discovered in Jerusalem during the reign of Constantine.[199]

As an important instrument of human salvation the cross directly relates to the resurrection symbolism and life-giving thrust of the Carmelite and Holy Sepulchre liturgies. Like the tomb of the Lord, the cross also relates directly to the spiritual landscape of the Holy Land and hence figures prominently in Carmelite and other liturgical traditions. Predictably, the Carmelites observed both the feasts of the Finding of the Holy Cross on 3 May and the Triumph of the Holy Cross on 14 September. The Carmelite celebration of these two feasts of the cross formed part of the Church's liturgical calendar, recalled their own connection with the Holy Land and reflected French influence on the Carmelite and Holy Sepulchre rites. For the Carmelites, the cross was an

[194] Meinberg 'Cross', p. 382.

[195] H. Chirat, 'Cross, Finding of the Holy', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV, 383–86 (p. 383).

[196] Chirat, 'Cross, Finding of the Holy', p. 383.

[197] Chirat, 'Cross, Finding of the Holy', p. 384.

[198] Meinberg, 'Cross', p. 383.

[199] Chirat, 'Cross, Finding of the Holy', p. 383.

important part of their daily contemplation; as a reminder of the penitential dimension of life, the Kraków Carmelites followed the stations of the cross as a weekly activity during Lent. The numerous crucifixion images in the illuminations from the Gradual of 1644, our CarK6, indicate that meditation on the cross and on the sufferings of the Lord figured prominently in the spiritual activity of the medieval and early-modern Carmelites of Kraków. The Carmelites began the annual fast on 14 September which lasted until Easter,[200] so that liturgical practices influenced their general spiritual activity.

The most famous aspect of the finding of the cross is a vision recounted in the tract, *De inventione crucis dominicae*, mentioned around 550 in the pseudo-Gelasian decree, *De recipiendis et non recipiendis libris*. While the accounts of the vision may not be reliable, their influence was nonetheless fairly widespread. The accounts relate that the Emperor Constantine, in danger of being defeated in battle by the pagans at the river Danube, saw the vision of a brilliant cross in the sky with the words 'In this sign thou shalt conquer'. He was victorious in the battle, received instruction in the Christian faith, and was baptized by Pope Eusebius in Rome, after which he sent his mother to Jerusalem to find the true cross.[201] The wood of the cross was not without its political ramifications. Thus once the Latin Kingdom was established by the conquest of Jerusalem, which the crusaders entered on 15 July 1099, the only member of the hierarchy to survive the battle, Arnulf of Cocques, was named patriarch-elect, presuming that he would receive papal approval. Soon after his election a relic of the true cross was discovered in Jerusalem, which served the new patriarch well as a sign of divine approbation of his position.[202]

[200] *Rule of St. Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, pp. 86–87. In this version the prescription for the fast is in Chapter 13: 'You are to fast every day, except Sundays, from the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross until Easter Day, unless bodily sickness or feebleness, or some other good reason, demand a dispensation from the fast; for necessity overrides every law'. Sixtus IV in his bull *Mare magnum* of 28 November 1486 gave the Carmelite general the power to regulate the fast and abstinence, which he in turn delegated to the provincials in 1478: see *Rule of St. Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, p. 30 for this discussion. Such regulations concerning the fast derived from the Rule of St Benedict, and coincided of course with the natural time for conserving food, after the harvest and during the long period of winter.

[201] *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Thurston and Attwater, II, 221–22.

[202] Dondi, *Liturgy of the Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 54, citing A. V. Murray, '"Mighty Against the Enemies of Christ": The Relic of the True Cross in the Armies of the Kingdom of Jerusalem', in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. J. France and W. G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 217–38.

While the cross of Jesus played an important role in the spiritual life of the Middle Ages in general, it perhaps had particular signficance for the Carmelites: originally part of the crusader movement, either as chaplains or perhaps even as knights themselves, the Carmelites originated in the area where the true cross was found and where the basilicas celebrating the discovery formed part of the spiritual landscape. Furthermore, their rule recalled to them the battle imagery of St Paul in conquering the forces of evil. As active mendicants operating a shrine church just on the periphery of the medieval town of Kraków, the Carmelites saw themselves as actively engaged in the battle to win souls and to keep them faithful to the Church. The chants for these two feasts in CarK1, page 17 (Invention of the Holy Cross) and page 208 (Exaltation of the Holy Cross) are proper to the feasts but not unique to the Carmelites.

Sts Peter and Paul

The Kraków Carmelites, following the order's tradition, observed the standard feasts for Sts Peter and Paul, including the Conversion of St Paul (25 January) and the Chair of St Peter (22 February) in CarK2 and Sts Peter and Paul (29 June) and the Commemoration of St Paul (30 June) in CarK1. This Carmelite tradition often organized the chants differently from other usages and sometimes used different chants to do so, although they were taken from the standard chants available, a practice which the Kraków Carmelite manuscripts followed as well. In this case the ordinal of Sibert as archetypal text proves to be especially significant, since the ordering of the chants, rather than the chant texts themselves, is crucial for a distinctively Carmelite version of these feasts.

Within the Carmelite tradition the Pauline feasts have special significance. For a mendicant order constantly practising conversion of habits, the feast of the conversion of St Paul takes on special meaning. The writings of St Paul also exercised a strong influence upon the rule: thus in Chapter 2 Albert refers to a life of 'allegiance to Jesus Christ', ('in obsequio Jesu Christi') based on II Corinthians 10. 5;[203] the same chapter refers to the follower of Christ as being 'pure in heart and stout in conscience' ('de corde puro et bona conscientia').[204] Chapter 15 (now Chapter 19) of the Carmelite rule relies heavily on St Paul's letter to the Ephesians 6 for much of its imagery:

[203] *Rule of St. Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, pp. 78–79.

[204] *Rule of St. Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, pp. 78–79.

> Quia vero tentatio est vita hominis super terram (Job 7. 1), et omnes qui pie volunt vivere in Christo persecutionem patiuntur (II Timothy 3. 12), adversarius quoque vester, diabolus, tamquam leo rugiens circuit quaerens quem devoret (I Peter 5. 8), omni solicitudine studeatis indui armatura Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias inimici (Ephesians 6. 11). Accingendi sunt lumbi (Ephesians 6. 14) cingulo castitatis; muniendum est pectus cogitationibus sanctis, scriptum est enim: Cogitatio sancta servabit te (Proverbs 2. 11). Induenda est lorica iustitiae (Ephesians 6. 14) ut Dominum Deum vestrum ex toto corde et ex tota anima et ex tota virtute diligatis, et proximum vestrum tamquam vos ipsos (Mark 12. 30–31). Sumendum est in omnibus scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere (Ephesians 6. 16), sine fide enim impossibile est placere Deo (Hebrew 11. 6), [et haec est victoria: fides vestra] (I John 5. 4) Galea quoque salutis capiti imponenda est (Ephesians 6. 17), ut de solo Salvatore speretis salutem, qui salvum facit populum suum a peccatis eorum (Matthew 1. 21). Gladius autem spiritus, quod est verbum Dei (Ephesians 6. 17), abundanter habitet (Collosians 3. 16) in ore et in cordibus (Romans 10. 8) vestris, et quaecumque vobis agenda sunt, in verbo Domini fiant (Collosians 3. 17).[205]

> Since man's life on earth is a time of trial, and all who would live devotedly in Christ undergo persecution, and the devil your foe is on the prowl like a roaring lion looking for prey to devour, you must use every care to be clothed in God's armour so that you may be ready to withstand the enemy's ambush. Your loins are to be girt with the belt of chastity, your breast fortified by holy meditations, for, it is written, holy meditation will save you. Holiness should be worn as your breastplate, so that you will love the Lord your God with all your heart and soul and strength, and your neighbour as yourself. In everything the shield of faith should be taken up, and with it you will be able to quench all the flaming missiles of the wicked one: there can be no pleasing God without faith; [and the victory lies in this — your faith]. On your head set the helmet of salvation, and so be sure of deliverance by our only Saviour, who sets his own free from their sins. The sword of the spirit, the word of God, must abound in your mouths and hearts. Let all you do have the Lord's word for accompaniment.

Ten of the seventeen scriptural allusions in the rule noted by Clarke and Edwards derive from the writings of St Paul and one from St Peter. The Pauline imagery from Ephesians is particularly effective for the spiritual aspirations of the Carmelites, especially clothing oneself in the armour of God, putting on the belt of chastity, putting on holiness as a breastplate, setting the helmet of salvation on the head, and seeing the word of God as the sword of the spirit. All these Pauline references further encourage the individual Carmelites to see themselves analogously to the knights going off to fight in battle, an image that was all too

[205] The text, translation [somewhat emended] and scriptural references are based on *Rule of St. Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, pp. 86–89.

familiar to the original hermits, some of whom may have been crusaders themselves before embracing religious life. The reference to the word of God as the 'sword of the spirit' also recalls the activity of Elijah the prophet and the iconography relating to him, and further allies the medieval Carmelites with their biblical ancestor. By the fourteenth century this idea of outfitting themselves for spiritual battle also related to the Carmelites' status as mendicants, even though the rule was originally given to them as hermits: unlike the monk who might put on spiritual armour simply to guard against personal temptation, at least some of the friars were engaged in the active life of the city where doing battle meant effectively bringing about and maintaining the conversion of the local populace and thereby ensuring the flourishing of divine worship.

The feast of the Conversion of St Paul (25 January) in particular served as a model for the conversion of the penitent and was a holy day of obligation in some churches in the west, specifically mentioned as such in England.[206] While the office of the Conversion of St Paul has some common elements with the Dominican version, the organization of its chants, like that for many Carmelite Marian offices, is distinctive from other traditions, including the Kraków diocesan one. In the liturgical celebration the chant texts that recall the conversion experience of Paul as related in Acts 9. 1–19 also recall for the Carmelites their own continual conversion as mendicants. Thus they likely saw their daily mendicant activity of preaching and eliciting the conversion of their listeners as a spiritual battle to win over souls and as a continuation of the apostolic work of St Paul himself.

The feast of the Chair of Peter (22 February)[207] was also standardized and universally observed long before the promulgation of Sibert's ordinal. The feast originally replaced the ancient Roman feast of *Parentalia*, which commemorated deceased relatives in ceremonies that usually involved bringing food to their graves.[208] The feast of the Chair of Peter thus replaced a Roman pagan celebration and celebrated the authority invested in Peter and his papal successors. This is particularly important, given the dependence of the mendicant orders on papal approval and support for their apostolic mission, and especially important for the Carmelites who had such difficulty being approved as an order at all. In the case of the Kraków Carmelites the growth of

[206] *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Thurston and Attwater, I, 163.

[207] For a discussion of the history of this feast, cf. *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Thurston and Attwater, I, 392–95.

[208] *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Thurston and Attwater, I, 393.

their convent and ministry in the city depended directly on the benevolence of Pope Boniface IX and also of Queen Jadwiga. Chants for this feast, as well as for the feasts of St Peter in Chains (1 August), Sts Peter and Paul (29 June), and the Commemoration of St Paul (30 June) use standard texts but organize them according to the prescriptions of Sibert's ordinal, making the Carmelite version distinct from that of other religious orders and dioceses.

Rhymed and metrical offices

Medieval antiphonals often included one or more rhymed offices to express particularly important saints in a liturgical tradition, either for a local diocese, a particular monastery or for an entire religious order to honour its members who achieved sainthood and who now had a proper feast to celebrate. While the vast majority of chants set standard biblical texts to music, the metrical or rhymed office relied on non-standard texts, often taken from the *vita* or life of the saint rather than from scripture, for its literary basis. The rhymed or versified office treated the antiphons and responsories as poetry, using metrical patterns for the textual lines and poetic rhyme for their endings. Musically the antiphons and responsories were often organized sequentially in modal order, thus yielding modes 1 through 8 plus 1 for the nine Matins antiphons and responsories in the cathedral usage, while the five Vespers and Lauds antiphons followed the order of modes 1 through 5. This custom proved particularly useful for the mendicant orders to celebrate their own saints. Thus within the Franciscan tradition Julian of Speyer wrote the 'Franciscus vir catholicus' office for St Francis of Assisi and 'Gaudeat ecclesia' for St Anthony of Padua,[209] the two primary Franciscan saints. Later offices for St Clare and St Louis of Anjou were written so that the number of syllables in each poetic line matched the corresponding line in the original Francis office, thus allowing the music from the 'Franciscus vir catholicus' office to be readily adapted to these new texts.[210] As a result the music of the Francis office became the basis for several other offices within the Franciscan tradition. The St Anthony office did not seem to function as a musical model for later Franciscan offices as did the office of St Francis. From a practical point of view this meant that the friars, once they had learned the music for one office, could

[209] *S. Francisci Assisiensis*, ed. by Felder.

[210] For a discussion of this process of applying the melody of an existing chant to a newly composed text, see Edwards, 'Chant Transference', pp. 503–19; the Franciscan offices are discussed on pp. 510–11.

sing it for three or more other ones. The Dominicans used a similar approach, so that the music for the office of St Dominic was also applied to chants for St Peter Martyr, St Thomas Aquinas, and other Dominican saints, and even to the 'Fons hortorum' office of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary.[211] Among the Carmelites the only proper rhymed office whose texts and presumably music would have been written by one of their friars was that of St Albert of Sicily. In this single instance the texts, and perhaps some of the original music, have survived.[212] Generally, however, such proper offices survive only in later eighteenth-century manuscripts, with music that reflects a Tridentine aesthetic, as we shall see in Chapter 4. As a result, the interest of these Kraków Carmelite manuscripts lies not so much in music which the Carmelites composed themselves, but rather in music from other traditions, such as the Bohemian offices of St Ludmila and St Wenceslaus, or the well-established office written by Benedict of Peterborough for St Thomas Becket, which they preserved. Medieval custom dictated that in the case of the great responsories for Matins the verses should follow a particular tone or melodic formula, one for each mode. Thus the vast majority of responsory verse texts in any given mode were set more or less to the same melody, subtly adapted to accommodate the length of the text in question. Thus, for most of these responsories one can determine the mode simply by examining the melodic formula of the verse and verifying the pattern upon which it is based. Since the great responsories of rhymed offices are musical as well as literary compositions, these verses are often newly composed rather than following a tonal formula. In such cases they normally end on the final of the mode rather than using the customary formulaic ending for each mode; in addition they often exploit the full range of the mode, as we shall see in our discussion in Part IV.

Three standard offices were accepted into the Carmelite liturgy by the General Chapter of London of 1281: St Nicholas of Myra, St Catherine of Alexandria, and St Augustine of Hippo.[213] Reference to the feast of St Thomas

[211] Epstein, 'Ludovicus Decus Regnantium', pp. 283–334; Hughes, '*Fons hortorum*', pp. 153–77.

[212] Some of the pieces for this office in the antiphonal Rome, Centro Internazionale Sant' Alberto, originally from the Carmelite church of Santa Maria in Traspontina, codex G, seem to be medieval, although most of the music in the codex was revised and added into the manuscript in the eighteenth century; for a brief discussion of these manuscripts, cf. Boyce, 'The Carmelite Office in the Tridentine Era', pp. 353–87.

[213] Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, p. 23.

of Canterbury as a *duplex* feast occurs in the acts of the chapter of Montpellier of 1369,[214] since it was celebrated earlier as a feast of nine lessons.[215] By this time the office for each of these saints had already been standardized. Since they were accepted well before the promulgation of Sibert's ordinal in 1312, the uniformity of their celebration throughout the order was guaranteed.

St Nicholas. The *Legenda Aurea* refers to the death of St Nicholas on 6 December 343,[216] and the translation of his relics from Myra to Bari in 1087 gave further impetus to his cult.[217] The saint's popularity extended throughout France, Italy, and England,[218] where it was well established in the Sarum rite, for instance, and arrived in the Latin Kingdom from the time of the first crusade, around 1096,[219] although churches dedicated to him had already flourished there beforehand. The 'O pastor eterne' office found in CarK5 was a standard metrical St Nicholas office common to many traditions. Here the texts were not rhymed but were clearly based on his *vita* or on other non-biblical sources. The music too was newly composed rather than relying on formulaic chant patterns. This is particularly the case with the great responsories for Matins, which by their sheer length allow for greater creativity than do the shorter antiphons.

St Thomas of Canterbury. Among the most famous later medieval versified offices was that of Thomas of Canterbury, the popular archbishop whose conflict with Henry II led first to his exile in Sens and Pontigny in 1164–70 and later to his murder in his own cathedral on 29 December 1170.[220] Revered as a

[214] Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, p. 43.

[215] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, pp. 123–25.

[216] Charles W. Jones, *St. Nicholas of Myra, Bari and Manhattan: Biography of a Legend* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 12.

[217] Charles W. Jones, *The Saint Nicholas Liturgy and its Literary Relationships (Ninth to Twelfth Centuries)*, English Studies, 27 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 42.

[218] For a Middle English account of the life of St Nicholas, see *Three Lives from the Gilte Legende*, ed. by Richard Hamer, Middle English Texts, 9 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Carl Winter, 1978), pp. 51–64.

[219] Jones, *St. Nicholas of Myra*, p. 219.

[220] Denis Stevens discuss the details of Thomas of Canterbury's biography as well as the texts and music used to celebrate his feast and its translation in 'Music in Honour of St Thomas of Canterbury', *The Musical Quarterly*, 56 (1970), 311–48. For other studies relating to the offices of Thomas cf. Andrew Hughes, 'Chants in the Offices of Thomas of

hero of episcopal integrity in political conflict, he was canonized by Pope Alexander II on 21 February 1173 and his relics were translated by Cardinal Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, on 7 July 1220.[221] Much of the devotion to Thomas relates to these two dates of canonization and translation. The fear of the memory of Thomas Becket so preoccupied Henry VIII in his conflict with Thomas More that he had all liturgical texts relating to Thomas Becket excised or defaced in all the manuscripts of the realm.[222] The mendicant orders, like the monastic ones such as Benedictines and Cistercians, played a significant role in disseminating his cult.[223] The Carmelites of Verona dedicated their convent and church to him in 1316, one of several indications of his popularity within the order.[224] The great devotion to Thomas Becket in Normandy, where his parents had originally lived before settling in England, may account for the feast's presence in the Carmelite rite.[225] The entire 'Pastor cesus in gregis' versified office honouring Thomas Becket, including both text and music, was written by Benedict of Peterborough, according to a chronicler from the abbey,[226] and later served as a model for other offices such as St David

Canterbury and Stanislaus of Poland', *Musica antiqua*, 6 (1982), 267–77; Andrew Hughes, 'Chants in the Rhymed Offices of St. Thomas of Canterbury', *Early Music*, 16 (1988), 185–202; Kay Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket* (Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2004) and Sherry Reames, 'Reconstructing and Interpreting a Thirteenth-Century Office for the Translation of Thomas Becket', *Speculum*, 80 (2005), 118–70.

[221] The ceremony of the translation was principally in the hands of the Archbishop of Reims, assisted by Stephen Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury; the proper chants for the Mass and Office of the Translation were borrowed from those of the feast: see Stevens, 'Music in Honour of St. Thomas', pp. 326–27.

[222] In his proclamation of 16 November 1538 Henry VIII ordered that the feasts of Thomas were no longer to be celebrated and therefore that all references to them be struck out of liturgical books: Stevens, 'Music in Honour of St. Thomas', p. 327.

[223] Barth, 'Zum Kult des hl. Thomas Becket', pp. 102–03.

[224] Barth, 'Zum Kult des hl. Thomas Becket', p. 124.

[225] Foreville, 'Le culte de Saint Thomas Becket', p. 135.

[226] Hughes, 'Chants in the Rhymed Office of St. Thomas', *Early Music*, 16 (1988), 185–201; the specific reference to Benedict is found on p. 185. Kay Slocum takes up the question of authorship in which she compares some of the texts from Benedict's *Passio* used in other sources against the *Vita* written by John of Salisbury and suggests that Benedict may have written the lesson texts as well as the text and music for the sung portions of the office: Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket*, pp. 136–46. Sherry Reames provides a detailed study of the Thomas offices in 'Liturgical Offices for the Cult of St. Thomas Becket', in *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology*, ed. by Thomas Head

of Wales.[227] The Carmelites, like the other mendicant orders, played a significant role in disseminating his cult throughout continental Europe. In some cases they also used his office as a basis for their own creative expression. Thus the Carmelites of Mainz adapted many of its chant melodies to new texts for their own office of the Presentation of Mary; since these new texts, unlike their Franciscan counterparts, were not written with the same metrical patterns as the Thomas chants, the adaptation process involved reworking the musical material of the Thomas office into a new musical entity in the Presentation office.[228] The office of St Thomas occurs in CarK2, starting on folio 60, where the beginning chants are missing, and in CarK5, beginning on folio 40. Since both text and music for this office were clearly established long before these manuscripts were written, CarK2 and CarK5 predictably agree textually and musically with each other and with the standard version of this office.

St Augustine of Hippo. Like the offices of St Nicholas and St Thomas Becket the 'Letare mater nostra' office[229] for St Augustine of Hippo (354–430) was well established by the time the feast entered the Carmelite rite in 1281, before being universally promulgated by the ordinal of Sibert de Beka of 1312. While we have discussed the relationship between friars and canons in Chapter 2, the fact that the Carmelite office liturgy followed the procedures outlined for canons justifies St Augustine's feast being celebrated in their liturgy. Moreover, the canons of St Augustine staffed the shrines of the Holy Land, so that this office also provided a link with their Holy Sepulchre origins, although the Carmelites did not follow the Holy Sepulchre practice of celebrating Augustine's translation or 'reconditio', as we have shown in our discussion of the calendar. As a kindred spirit to St Paul, Augustine's conversion,[230] in

(New York: Garland, 2000), pp. 561–93.

[227] Owain Tudor Edwards, *Matins, Lauds and Vespers for St. David's Day: The Medieval Office of the Welsh Patron Saint in National Library of Wales, MS. 20541 E* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1990).

[228] Boyce, 'The Carmelite Feast of the Presentation', pp. 485–518.

[229] For a discussion of this office see Janka Szendrei, 'On the Prose *Historia* of St. Augustine', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honour of Professor Ruth Steiner,* ed. by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 430–43.

[230] Augustine's account of his own conversion is related in his *Confessions*, Book 8, sections V-XII: Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. by F. J. Sheed, 2nd edn (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2006), especially pp. 147–60.

response to the many years that his mother St Monica spent in prayer, outlined the future direction of his own life and served as a model for Carmelites who, as mendicant religious, practised ongoing conversion as an integral part of their spirituality. The rhymed 'Letare mater nostra' office occurs in CarK1 and CarK3 and is consistent textually and musically with the version found in the Dominican rite[231] and in the rite of Paris,[232] for instance.

St Catherine of Alexandria. The feast of St Catherine of Alexandria (25 November) also had a well established rhymed office, beginning with 'Inclita sancte virginis' as the Magnificat antiphon for first Vespers, by the time it entered the Carmelite liturgy in 1281. According to Eusebius, Catherine was martyred by the Emperor Maxentius in 305 at Alexandria; legend maintains that she was miraculously preserved from death on the wheel, and then beheaded. Her relics were discovered in the monastery church at the foot of Mount Sinai, where she has been venerated since the eighth century.[233] As we have seen, the historiated 'H' for 'Hec est regina' for the feast of the Assumption of Mary in CarK1, folio 130, has a picture of Catherine in the left margin holding her symbol of martyrdom, the wheel, in her right hand. Catherine's legend is also narrated in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacob of Voragine, and was established in the Sarum and other rites prior to its acceptance into the Carmelite liturgy.[234] While the Mainz Carmelites later chose a separate rhymed office to celebrate the feast, beginning with 'Ave virgo speciosa' as the Magnificat antiphon for first Vespers,[235] the Kraków Carmelites kept the traditional office, beginning with 'Inclita sancte virginis' as the Magnificat antiphon for first Vespers, as outlined in Sibert de Beka's ordinal and used in the Carmine of Florence.[236]

[231] The 'Letare mater nostra' office occurs in the portable breviary used by the master general of the Dominicans when conducting visitation to the convents of the order, now London, British Library, Additional MS 23935, beginning on fol. 346.

[232] Thus the office is found in the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth-century noted breviary of Paris, now Paris, BnF, MS latin 15182, where it begins on fol. 325.

[233] Holweck, *Biographical Dictionary of the Saints*, p. 198; *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Thurston and Attwater, IV, 420–21.

[234] For a study of the English tradition of the St Catherine legend, see Theodor Wolpers, *Die Englische Heiligenlegende des Mittelalters* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1964).

[235] This office in CarMD has been edited in Boyce, '*Cantica Carmelitana*', II, 154–86.

[236] The office occurs in Florence, Museo di San Marco, MS 575 (V), beginning on fol. 1; it has been edited in Boyce, '*Cantica Carmelitana*', II, 187–221.

Corpus Christi. The feast of Corpus Christi, entitled *festum sanctissimi corporis Christi* in the revised Tridentine Missal of Pius V published in 1570, and also known by older names such as *Nova sollemnitas* and *Festa Domini*, was first established in 1246 in Liège Belgium[237] by the local bishop, Robert of Turotte, in response to a vision of Juliana, a canoness regular of Mont-Cornillon (*c.* 1191–1258).[238] The cardinal legate Hugh of St Cher is responsible for the expansion of the feast to Germany, Bohemia, and Poland in 1252,[239] but its presence among the Carmelites is due to the order's tradition rather than local custom in Prague. The Archdeacon of Liège, Jacques Pantaléon, became Pope Urban IV in 1261 and extended the feast to the universal church in 1264 by his bull *Transiturus de hoc mundo*;[240] the feast was newly promulgated by Clement V (1305–14) in his apostolic letter *Si Dominum*, after which it spread widely throughout Europe.[241]

Miri Rubin thoroughly discussed this feast of the Eucharist, including the place of the Corpus Christi liturgy in liturgical books, preaching about the feast, confraternities, and dramas concerning the feast and the many miracles associated with the host that helped to bolster its popularity.[242] While Juliana's vision was one of Jesus lamenting the absence of a special feast to honour His sacramental presence at the altar, many subsequent miracle stories were repeated, which invariably involved a sceptic or unbeliever who refused to believe that the host contained the real presence of the Lord, resulting either in a conversion experience or in having some extraordinary manifestation of the error of his or her ways. Such miracle stories concerning the host were rampant in Poland, especially in Poznań, where the Carmelite church was dedicated to Corpus Christi. These localized miracles surely relate to the feast's celebration in Kraków and in other Polish Carmelite centres.

[237] M. F. Connell, 'Corpus et Sanguis Christi, Solemnity of', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV, 272.

[238] J. J. Smith, 'Juliana of Liège, Bl', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, VIII, 252.

[239] Smith, 'Juliana of Liège, Bl' p. 52.

[240] Thomas J. Mathiesen, ''The Office of the New Feast of Corpus Christi' in the Regimen Animarum at Brigham Young University', *The Journal of Musicology*, 2 (1983), 13–44 (p. 20).

[241] Connell, 'Corpus et Sanguis Christi, Solemnity of', p. 272.

[242] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 1991).

Tadeusz Trajdos points out the importance of a Corpus Christi miracle to the Carmelites in Poznań, whose convent was named for Corpus Christi, an event recounted by Jan Długosz in his *Historia Polonica*.[243] The miracle also had significant social ramifications, especially anti-semitism. The original miracle dates to 15 August 1399 when, during the Mass for the feast of the Assumption, a woman from Poznań received communion in the local Dominican church, hid the wafer in her mouth, and sold it to Jews. It was discovered on the lawn behind the walls where numerous miracles were reported in the place where it was found.[244] The story was preserved in sermon manuals from the last quarter of the fifteenth century and in a handwritten copy from the convent of canons regular of Trzemeszno, which was used as the text for the homily on the Blessed Sacrament.[245] The story of course became embellished so that after the woman sold the host to the Jews, they took it to a dungeon, crucified it, and pierced it with knives so that blood spurted from it. Finally they threw it on the lawn where it was found by a shepherd. In that place the church of Corpus Christi was erected and the bloody host was placed in it.[246] Thus the cult of the Eucharist and the erection of the Carmelite church in Poznań were closely allied with this miracle of the host. In his confirmation bull of of 21 October 1400 Boniface IX specifically mentioned the cult of Corpus Christi and the wishes of the faithful to build a church there as the reasons for his giving permission to establish the Carmelite convent there.[247] The first bull of Boniface IX giving privileges to the Poznań convent, dated 9 July 1401, specifically referred to the numerous miracles witnessed there and the throngs of people who flocked to the area because of them.[248] A second indulgence privilege from Boniface, dated 18 August 1403, cited the miracle that took place because of Corpus Christi.[249] The donation privilege of Władisław Jagiełło of 13 March 1406 stated that the foundation of the convent was in the place in the suburb of Poznań where, according to

[243] Jan Długosz, *Historia Polonica, libri XII*, 12 vols (Kraków: Przeździecki, 1876), III, 538. Cf. Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 177 n. 171.

[244] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, pp. 153–54.

[245] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 154.

[246] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 154.

[247] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 153.

[248] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 153.

[249] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 153.

witnesses, the host had been found;[250] a subsequent privilege from 1428 given to the cloister states that the Corpus Christi convent was famous for its miracles.[251] Trajdos cites an incident in Paris dated 1290 or 1295, known from the bulls of Innocent VIII,[252] in which a woman stole a host from the Carmelites and sold it to Jews, with the standard result of the torturers hitting it with knives, then dropping it into boiling water which turned bloody while the host miraculously remained intact and was eventually found by one Rainer Flammand next to St Jean des Graves; a chapel was founded on the spot and both the chapel and the Carmelites received special indulgences. While the stories of eucharistic miracles multipled, Carmelites defended the integrity of the Eucharist, not only against Jews but also against Hussites and Wyckliffites. Most notable among such defenders was the Englishman Thomas Netter of Walden, whose treatise on the sacraments was endorsed by Martin V in 1427.[253] Thomas Netter was also well known in Poland, since in 1419 he brought the letters of Sigismund of Luxemburg to the grand master of the Teutonic knights regarding arbitration between Poland and the Teutonic knights.[254] In 1583 the Kraków Carmelite Thomas Rerus embellished the miracle story, maintaining that the woman actually stole three hosts from the tabernacle, naturally yielding a new reliquary to house three hosts, not just a single one;[255] thus the Carmelites of Kraków participated in the expansion of the Corpus Christi stories, which finally took written form under the pen of Jan Chrysostom Sikorski of Poznań who wrote the story of the miracle in 1604.[256] Numerous embellishments were added to the

[250] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 153, citing *Kodeks dyplomatyczny Wielkopolski, V*, ed. by Fr Piekosiński (Poznań: [n. pub.], 1908), no. 91 (Kraków, 13 III 1406) in n. 167.

[251] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 153.

[252] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 156, citing (in n. 183) *Bullarium Carmelitanum*, pp. 44–45, where the date is given as 17 August 1295; Daniel of the Virgin Mary in his *Vinea Carmeli* (Antwerp: Apud Iacobum Meursium, 1662), pp. 258–59, gives the date as 1290.

[253] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 158, citing (in fn. 196) *Bullarium Carmelitanum,* pp. 177–78. Netter's treatise was entitled *Doctrinale Antiquitatem Fidei Catholicae contra vicleffistas et hussitas* (1426–27).

[254] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 158.

[255] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 163.

[256] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 164; Jan Chrysostom Sikorski, *Historia SS. Corporis Christi Miraculose Reperti Posnaniae in Polonia Anno Salutis 1399* (Poznań: [n. pub.], 1604).

miracle stories and at the end of the seventeenth century the Poznań Carmelites compiled a manuscript with the history of the local devotion for the Carmelite superiors in Rome.[257]

Corpus Christi celebrations were enhanced by indulgences such as those given by Boniface IX in 1403 for the celebration of Corpus Christi, some Marian holy days, and a select number of additional feasts. Both the miracle stories and the indulgences enhanced the popularity of the feast in Poznań, so that the Carmelite convent became a pilgrimage site around the time of the feast, necessitating a number of confessors and preachers to meet the spiritual needs of the crowds, sometimes leading to conflict with the Bishop, Wojciech Jastrzebiec.[258] For the feast of Corpus Christi and a number of other holy days the host was exhibited in the Poznań Carmelite church in a special monstrance given to the Carmelites by King Jagiełło himself, the oldest gothic monstrance in Poland.[259] Corpus Christi processions also became common in Kraków by the middle of the fourteenth century. Starting in 1347 the centre of such festivities was the church of Corpus Christi in the Kazimierz section of Kraków, a church whose origins also reflect miraculous circumstances; in the second half of the fourteenth century Corpus Christi processions were centred around this church and went through the Kazimerz section of the city. Another procession went from the cathedral on Wawel Hill through Franciszkańska Street to the main square, the Rynek Główny.[260]

The king himself was a devotee of eucharistic adoration, and Długosz mentions that before every battle he visited Lysiec and Poznań, where he offered votive prayers and adoration before the altar in the Carmelite church.[261] The king also generously endowed the Carmelite shrine in Poznań with gifts and even made a pilgrimage to it to offer thanks after victories in battle,

[257] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 167.

[258] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, pp. 158–60.

[259] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 160; see also his 'Fundacja klasztoru karmelitów trzewiczkowych p. w. Bożego Ciała w Poznaniu a kult eucharystyczny króla Władisława II Jagiełły', *Poznańskie Studia Teologiczne*, 5 (1984), 317–62.

[260] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 161, citing (in n. 211) H. Zaremska, 'Procesje Bożego Ciała w Krakowie w XIV-XVI wieku', in *Kultura elitarna a kultura masowa w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*, ed. by Bronisław Geremek (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1978).

[261] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 161 n. 216 citing Długosz, *Historia Polonia libri XII*, IV, 283.

including the one after the battle with the Teutonic Knights in 1422.[262] Thus there existed a votive relationship between the Carmelites of Poznań and their eucharistic devotion and the nation itself, since the king relied on his prayers in the Poznań Carmelite church to gain victory in battle. Even after 1419 when, in the vicinity of the village of Tulczyn, thunder hit his carriage and killed several servants in his retinue, he confessed his sins as a sign of repentance and, despite his disappointment in the Carmelites and their eucharistic devotion, continued to patronize their Poznań church.[263]

Thomas Mathiesen discusses several versions of the Corpus Christi office. The version he calls 'Office C', found in Paris, BnF, MS latin 1143, dating to the second half of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century,[264] is the same as the one Andrew Hughes identifies as 'prose office no. 1' in the electronic version of his *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*.[265] This office corresponds most closely to the Carmelite version and is also the office whose authorship has been attributed to St Thomas Aquinas, a claim that has been viewed with considerable scepticism.[266] Mathiesen also shows the association of the office with the *Regimen animarum* of Archbishop John Peckham and with the practice of Canterbury cathedral, where the feast was adopted after 1340.[267]

Paschalis Kallenberg points out that this feast entered the Carmelite liturgy at the General Chapter of Toulouse in 1306,[268] so it is not surprising to find it in Sibert's ordinal, where it is listed as a *totum duplex* feast, with all of the chants for the prose office stipulated in detail.[269] Thus among the Carmelites this feast predates the Canterbury practice cited by Mathiesen by a considerable margin. It is always possible that Carmelite practice at Aylesford near Canterbury might have influenced the cathedral usage; clearly, though, English practice did not influence Carmelite practice.

[262] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 162 n. 218 citing Długosz, *Historia Polonia libri XII*, IV, 283.

[263] Trajdos, *U Zarania Karmelitów w Polsce*, p. 162.

[264] Mathiesen, 'The Office of the New Feast of Corpus Christi', p. 23; his Table 4, outlining the items for this office, is on p. 24 of his article.

[265] Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, I, [XCX] Corpus Christi [prose n1].

[266] Mathiesen outlines some of the problems with St Thomas being the author of this office: 'The Office of the New Feast of Corpus Christi', pp. 25–26.

[267] Mathiesen, 'The Office of the New Feast of Corpus Christi', 20.

[268] Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, p. 25.

[269] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, pp. 194–95.

Table 12 lists the chant incipits for this feast of Corpus Christi, along with their liturgical placement and the mode of each piece, beginning on page 70 in Wro, the most complete form of the office in the Kraków Carmelite tradition. An historiated 'S' for 'Sacerdos in eternum' depicts the Last Supper, with Jesus and nine apostles sitting around a table, in the centre of which is a large dish with a roasted lamb, small rolls, and knives. The apostles all have haloes, and on the halo of Christ is an engraved cross. On the left side of the initial, within the intertwined vegetation, is the figure of a kneeling Carmelite wearing his habit and white cloak. He holds above his head a banderolle with the inscription 'Fr … offert', either with the name of the friar erased or never inserted.[270]

Table 12: Feast of Corpus Christi

Chant: Service	Chant: Prayer	Incipit	Wro	Mode
1Vesp	Ant1	Sacerdos in eternum		
		Ps. Dixit Dominus	70	1
	Ant2	Miserator Dominus escam dedit		
		Ps. Confitebor	71	2
	Ant3	Calicem salutaris accipiam		
		Ps. Credidi propter	71	3
	Ant4	Sicut novelle olivarum		
		Ps. Beati omnes	71	4
	Ant5	Qui pacem ponit fines		
		Ps. Lauda Jerusalem	71	5
	R	Homo quidam fecit cenam		
		v. Venite comedite panem		
		v. Gloria patri et filio	72	6
	H	Pange lingua	72	*
	V	Panem de celo prestitisti	72	*
	Mag	O quam suavis est Domine		
		Ps. Magnificat	72	6
Matins	Inv	Christum regem adoremus		
		Ps. Venite	73	4
	H	Sacris solemniis	73	*
Noct1	Ant1	Fructum salutiferum gustandum		
		Ps. Beatus vir	73	1

[270] This initial is described in Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki e Polsce*, II, 65–66, and reproduced as example 74 on p. 69; see also Katarzyna Płonka-Bałus, 'Antyfonarz z roku 1397'pp. 52–55.

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	Wro	Mode
	Ant2	A fructu frumenti et vini		
		Ps. Cum invocarem	74	2
	Ant3	Communione calicis		
		Ps. Conserva	74	3
	V	Panem celi dedit eis	74	*
	R1	Immolabit edum multitudo		
		v. Pascha nostrum immolatus	74	1
	R2	Comedetis carnes		
		v. Non Moyses dedit vobis	75	2
	R3	Respexit Helyas ad caput suum		
		v. Si quis manducaverit		
		v. Gloria patri	76	3
Noct2	Ant1	Memor sit Dominus sacrificii		
		Ps. Exaudiat te Domine	77	4
	Ant2	Paratur nobis mensa Domini		
		Ps. Dominus regit	77	5
	Ant3	In voce exultationis resonent		
		Ps. Quemadmodum	77	6
	V	Cibavit eos ex adipe frumenti	77	*
	R1	Panis quem ego dabo		
		v. Locutus est populus	77	4
	R2	Cenantibus illis accepit		
		v. Dixerunt viri tabernaculi	78	5
	R3	Accepit Jesus calicem		
		v. Memoria memorero		
		v. Gloria patri	79	6
Noct3	Ant1	Introibo ad altare Dei		
		Ps. Judica me	80	7
	Ant2	Cibavit nos Dominus ex adipe		
		Ps. Exultate deo	80	8
	Ant3	Ex altari tuo Domine		
		Ps. Quam dilectam	80	6
	V	Educas panem de terra	80	*
	R1	Melchisedech vero rex		
		v. Benedictus Abraham Deo	80	5
	R2	Calix benedictionis tue		
		v. Quoniam unus panis	81	2
	R3	Unus panis et unum corpus		
		v. Parasti in dulcedine		
		v. Gloria patri	82	1
Lauds	Ant1	Sapientia edificavit sibi domum		
		Ps. Dominus regnavit	83	1

Chant		Incipit	Wro	Mode
Service	Prayer			
	Ant2	Angelorum esca nutrivisti		
		Ps. Jubilate	83	2
	Ant3	Pinguis est panis Christi		
		Ps. Deus Deus	83	3
	Ant4	Sacerdotes Dei incensum		
		Ps. Benedicite	84	4
	Ant5	Vincenti dabo manna		
		Ps. Laudate	84	5
	H	Verbum supernum	84	*
	V	Posuit fines tuos pacem	84	*
	Ben	Ego sum panis vivus		
		Ps. Benedictus	84	1
2Vesp	Mag1	O sacrum convivium		
		Ps. Magnificat	85	5
	Mag2	Melchisedech rex Salem		
		Ps. Magnificat	86	6

The Central European tradition

Three rhymed offices were included in CarK1, for St Wenceslaus, St Ludmila, and St Elizabeth of Hungary respectively. Since these three saints were not otherwise venerated in the Carmelite liturgy, the presence of their liturgies in this manuscript reflects a central European influence on the Kraków Carmelite tradition and makes CarK1 a valuable source for preserving their offices.

Sts Wenceslaus and Ludmila. The offices of Sts Wenceslaus and Ludmila are intimately bound up with the establishment and maintenance of Christianity in Bohemia. Ludmila was born around 860 and converted to Christianity when her husband, Borivoy, Duke of Bohemia, was baptized by St Methodius.[271] They were responsible for the building of the first Christian church in Bohemia, at Levy Hradec to the north of Prague. One of their sons Ratislav, had married a Slav, Drahomira, with whom he had a son, Wenceslaus, who quickly became entrusted into Ludmila's care. When Ratislav died prematurely, his wife exercised considerable influence and threatened the fate of Christianity in Bohemia. The threat of Wenceslaus assuming power before the end of his regency and hence strengthening Christianity prompted two members of the opposing party to

[271] For a biographical discussion of Ludmila see *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Thurston and Attwater, III, 570.

come to Ludmila's castle of Tetin and strangle her on 16 September, 921. She was quickly acclaimed as a martyr and her body was translated to St George's church in Prague. As a martyr specifically for the fate of Christianity in Bohemia one can see why her feast was very popular. For Carmelites who saw their presence in both Prague and Kraków as an expansion of their apostolic ministry, this feast had particular significance as well. Table 13 shows the chants used for this office in CarK1. This office of St Ludmila, beginning with 'Ecce iubar matutinum' as the first antiphon for first Vespers, generally agrees with the published version edited by Dominique Patier[272] and also with the versions in *Analecta Hymnica*[273] and in Hughes's *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*,[274] although it contains all five first Vespers antiphons, unlike the other versions which have only the first one. As such it is a valuable source with music for these complete office chants.

Table 13: Feast of St Ludmila

Chant		Incipit	CarK1	Mode
Service	Prayer			
1Vesp	Ant1	Ecce iubar matutinum		
		Ps. Laudate pueri	213	1
	Ant2	Laudem clerus concinat		
		Ps. Laudate Dominum	213	2
	Ant3	Mater cleri		
		Ps. Lauda anima	213	3
	Ant4	O dulcis effusio		
		Ps. Laudate Dominum quoniam	214	4
	Ant5	Luce plena fidei		
		Ps. Lauda Jerusalem	214	5
	R	Prima noctis vigilia		
		v. Pretiosa mors Ludmille		
		v. Gloria patri	215	6T**
	H	Haec sunt		*
	V	Diffusa est		*
	Mag	Quasi stella matutina		
		Ps. Magnificat	216	6

[272] Dominique Patier, 'Un office rythmique tchèque du XIVème siècle: Étude comparative avec quelques offices hongrois', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 12 (1970), 41–129.

[273] *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. by Blume and Dreves, v, 196–98.

[274] This office is LU61 in Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices,* i.

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	CarK1	Mode
Matins	Inv	Adsunt sollemnia		
		Ps. Venite	216	2
Noct1	Ant1	Firma fide perambula		
		Ps. Dominus Dominus	217	1
	Ant2	Servans sanctimoniam		
		Ps. Celi enarrant	217	2
	Ant3	Haec est illa vidua		
		Ps. Domini est terra	217	3
	V	Diffusa est gratia		*
	R1	Gaude celum primo flore		
		v. Ista Christi famula	218	1
	R2	Nobilis ex genere		
		v. Hec ancilla veri Dei	218	2
	R3	In virtutum culmine		
		v. Ut columba sine felle		
		v. Gloria patri	219	3
Noct2	Ant1	Haec est Judith vidua		
		Ps. Eructavit	219	4
	Ant2	Omni carens infamia		
		Ps. Deus noster refugium	220	5T
	Ant3	Numquam cum letantibus		
		Ps. Fundamenta	220	6T
	V	Specie tua et pulchritudine		*
	R1	Haec est prima propaginum		
		v. O propaga fructu grata	221	3
	R2	Haec Rachel mirabilis		
		v. Pietati studuit	221	5
	R3	Quamvis in diviciis		
		v. Res tenebat non ad fastum		
		v. Gloria patri	222	6T
Noct3	Ant1	Si queratur femina		
		Ps. Cantate (primus)	222	7
	Ant2	Ludmilla felix matrona		
		Ps. Dominus regnavit exultet	223	8
	Ant3	Munda manens penitus		
		Ps. Cantate (secundus)	223	6T
	V	Adiuvabit eam		*
	R1	Mortis ante prescia		
		v. Cum cordis fervore	223	7
	R2	Fune demunt non mucrone		
		v. In Christi collegium	224	8
	R3	Mors lictorum velox et varia		

Chant Service	Chant Prayer	Incipit	CarK1	Mode
		v. Ad sepulchrum luminaria		
		v. Gloria patri	225	1
Lauds	Ant1	Laudes canens davidicas		
		Ps. Dominus regnavit	225	1
	Ant2	Immersus funis gutturi		
		Ps. Jubilate	226	2
	Ant3	Sic Esther in regia		
		Ps. Deus Deus	226	3
	Ant4	Haec eius prima gratia		
		Ps. Benedicite	226	4
	Ant5	Laus celestis resonet		
		Ps. Laudate	226	5
	V	Elegit eam		*
	Ben	Salutem ex inimicis		
		Ps. Benedictus	227	6
	R	Gaudenti congaudeamus		
		v. Confortis celi curiae		
		v. Gloria patri	227	6
2Vesp	V	Haec sunt		*
	Mag	O mater Bohemiae		
		Ps. Magnificat	228	6

** T denotes transposed

Table 14 lists the chant texts for the office of Ludmila's grandson, St Wenceslaus in CarK1, beginning with 'Adest dies leticie' as the first antiphon for first Vespers; these also agree with the versions printed in *Analecta Hymnica*[275] and *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*.[276] Some of the office readings for this feast were apparently based upon the *Legenda S. Wenceslai* written by King Charles IV of Bohemia.[277] Neither office was copied into CarK3, dating to 1468, nor is it found in any subsequent manuscript in the collection, suggesting that it may not have been observed in Kraków beyond a couple of generations of Carmelites. Nonetheless both offices were held in sufficient regard that they were preserved in the 1743 revision and rebinding of CarK1. Seen from a

[275] *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. by Blume and Dreves, v, 260–63.

[276] The office occurs in Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, I, WE51.

[277] *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. by Blume and Dreves, v, 263; S. Harrison Thomson, 'Learning at the Court of Charles IV', *Speculum*, 25 (1950), 1–20, where he refers to the *Legenda S. Wenceslai* of Charles IV on p. 11.

different viewpoint, as the Kraków Carmelite community became distinctively Polish and the founding Bohemians died, the veneration of Bohemian saints also became extinct in actual liturgical practice, although the chants themselves were preserved, perhaps out of deference to the memory of the founders of the convent. While the office of St Wenceslaus does occur in Kraków diocesan usage, St Ludmila's office does not. Moreover, the office in Kraków usage, at least as found in the MS Kraków, Jagellonian Library, MS 1255 [Kra1], folio 409, features an entirely different set of chants from the Carmelite version. While the chants in this source are proper to the feast, they do not appear to be rhymed. in contrast to the Carmelite version; the Lauds antiphons begin with 'Beatus vir' in this diocesan manuscript while the Carmelites began the series with 'Laude motus matutina nocte' on page 258 of CarK1.

Table 14: Feast of St Wenceslaus

Chant: Service	Chant: Prayer	Incipit		CarK1	Mode
1Vesp	Ant1	Adest dies letitie			
		Ps.	Laudate pueri	245	1
	Ant2	Peremptoris pena			
		Ps.	Laudate Dominum omnes	246	2
	Ant3	Gressus redit prepeditas			
		Ps.	Lauda anima	246	3
	Ant4	Carcer nocte claruit			
		Ps.	Laudate Dominum	247	4
	Ant5	Per trimatum hoc humatum			
		Ps.	[missing]	247	5
	R	Castus mente			*
	H	Dies venit			*
	Mag	Palimpsest: G[Iesus iunxit se]			
		Ps.	Magnificat	247	1
Matins	Inv	Iubilemus regi celi			
		Ps.	Venite	248	4
	H	Deus tuorum militum			*
Noct1	Ant1	Iubar alte claritatis			
		Ps.	Beatus vir	248	1
	Ant2	Vivens ab infantia			
		Ps.	Quare fremuerunt	249	2
	Ant3	Dum gentiles vitat ritus			
		Ps.	Domine quid	249	3
	V	Gloria et honore coronasti			*

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit		CarK1	Mode
	R1	Wenceslaus dux gratie			
		v.	Vitans puerilia	249	1
	R2	Sacra frequentat limina			
		v.	Vir plenus sacro flamine	250	2
	R3	Nocte surgens agrum petiit			
		v.	Hinc de hortis vas demit		
		v.	Gloria patri	250	3
Noct2	Ant1	Carnem terens inedia			
		Ps.	Cum invocarem	251	4
	Ant2	Signo crucis hostis cedit			
		Ps.	Verba mea	251	5
	Ant3	Spiritu prophetico			
		Ps.	Domine Dominus noster	252	6
	V	Posuisti Domine super caput			*
	R1	Infantes emit gentiles			
		v.	Sancte dat se largitati	252	4
	R2	Crucis cultor progreditur			
		v.	Cesar stupore rapitur	253	6
	R3	Mors Abelis figuravit			
		v.	Frater fratrem nece stravit		
		v.	Gloria patri	253	6
Noct3	Ant1	Cursu tandem consummato			
		P.	In Domino confido	254	7
	Ant2	Ad occursum hostium			
		P.	Domine quis habitabit	254	8
	Ant3	Hinc prostratus in limine			
		P.	Domine in virtute	255	6
	V	Justus et palma			*
	R1	Wenceslaus dux virtutum			
		v.	Hoc a viro pietatis	255	7
	R2	Christus regi Dacie			
		v.	Sic pro culparum maculis	256	8
	R3	Castus mente corpore			
		v.	Melle fluens candens rubens		
		v.	Gloria patri	256	5
	V	Posuisti Domine super caput			*
Lauds	Ant1	Laude motus matutina			
		Ps.	Dominus regnavit	258	1
	Ant2	Cruor fusus effluit		258	2
		Ps.	Jubilate		
	Ant3	Ex gestato pignore			

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	CarK1	Mode
		Ps. Deus Deus	258	3
	Ant4	Morbidis refugium		
		Ps. Benedicite	258	4
	Ant5	Laudant Dominum de celis		
		Ps. Laudate	259	5
	Ben	Hic dives in apice		
		Ps. Benedictus	259	6
	R	Castus mente		*
	H	Dies venit		*
	V	Gloria et honore		*
2Vesp	Mag	O pugil egregie		
		Ps. Magnificat	260	6
	Ant1	Corde et lingua		
		Ps. Euouae	260	5

St Elizabeth of Hungary. The Carmelites included the 'Laetare Germania' rhymed office for St Elizabeth of Hungary in CarK1. Like the offices of St Ludmila and St Wenceslaus, this office evidently formed part of the Prague tradition which then extended to Kraków and, like these offices, probably did not continue to be observed beyond the first few generations of Carmelites there. Table 15 shows the chant texts for this 'Laetare Germania' office in honour of St Elizabeth, their location in CarK1 and their modal assignment. These texts are the same as those published in *Analecta Hymnica*[278] and in the full study of this office done by Barbara Haggh,[279] with the single exception of the responsory 'Benedictus sit', which does not occur in Haggh's offices and which we discuss as Example 17 in Part IV. Elizabeth's biography[280] firmly situates her in Germany: the daughter of King Andrew II and Queen Gertrude of Hungary, Elizabeth (1207–31) grew up on the Wartburg; her marriage to the Landgrave of Thuringia ended with her husband's death in the crusades.

[278] *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. by Blume and Dreves, xxv, 253–58.

[279] *Two Offices for St. Elizabeth of Hungary: Gaudeat Hungaria and Letare Germania*, ed. by Barbara Haggh, Musicological Stuides 65:1 (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1995).

[280] For a discussion of the various *vitae* of Elizabeth, cf. Anja Petrakopoulos, 'Sanctity and Motherhood: Elizabeth of Thuringia', in *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (New York: Garland, 1995), pp. 259–96.

She then became a third order Franciscan and lived in Marburg, where she became known for her kindness to others and for her personal austerity. She established a hospital in Marburg, where she literally worked to the point of exhaustion, leading to her death on 17 November 1231 at the age of twenty-three; she was canonized on 27 May 1235.[281] The 'Letare Germania' office was the only office used for Elizabeth's *elevatio*, that is, the translation of her relics from the hospital to the Elizabethkirche in Marburg, Germany, on 2 May 1236, an event which drew huge numbers of visitors to Marburg.[282]

Since this office was of German provenance it is not surprising that it became popular among the German Carmelites who founded the priory in Prague around a century after St Elizabeth's canonization and translation. Honouring her in Prague gave the local Carmelites a sense of their own cultural and spiritual identity. At the same time, the similarities between St Elizabeth's life and that of Queen Jadwiga lead one to question whether the insertion of this office might have been in deference to the Polish queen, who herself died tragically only two years after the Carmelites arrived in Kraków. Jadwiga, like Elizabeth, was of royal Hungarian birth, with unswerving loyalty and devotion to the Catholic church and with impeccable personal spiritual attributes. If the Kraków Carmelites initially included the office of this saintly monarch in the Kraków convent simply out of political deference to her or out of personal loyalty to their German origins, within a very few years the Kraków Carmelites surely would have seen the connections between this saint whose office they celebrated and the Polish queen whom they honoured as the founder of their convent.

Thus the chanting of these three offices in the Kraków convent and their preservation in their choir books, even after they no longer were used, provide an example of the distinctiveness of the Kraków Carmelite liturgy and its manuscripts, as well as of the importance of their Bohemian and German heritage for the founders of the Kraków convent.

[281] *Two Offices for St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, ed. by Haggh, p. ix.
[282] *Two Offices for St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, ed. by Haggh, p. xix.

Table 15: Feast of St Elizabeth of Hungary

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit		CarK1	Mode
1Vesp	Ant1	Letare Germania			
		Ps.	Laudate pueri	338	1
	Ant2	Quem nexu coniugii			
		Ps.	Laudate Dominum omnes	338	2
	Ant3	Apta tandem viri votis			
		Ps.	Lauda anima	338	3
	Ant4	Si fulgebat in aspectu			
		Ps.	Laudate Dominum	338	4
	Ant5	Quanto sese deprimebat			
		Ps.	Lauda Jerusalem	339	5
	R	Benedictus sit Dominus Deus			
		v.	Mulieres opulente		
		v.	Gloria patri	339	6
	H	Hymnum Deo			*
	V	Diffusa est			*
	Mag	Gaude celum terra plaude			
		Ps.	Magnificat	340	5
Matins	Inv	Regi Deo iubilantes			
		Ps.	Venite	340	4
	H	Haec insignis			*
Noct1	Ant1	Ex ore lactantium			
		Ps.	Domine Dominus	341	1
	Ant2	A calore caritatis			
		Ps.	Celi enarrant	341	2
	Ant3	Inquinari manus sorde			
		Ps.	Domini est terra	341	5?
	V	Diffusa est gratia		342	*
	R1	De paupertatis palea			
		v.	Aures surdis reserat	342	1
	R2	Ista regis filia			
		v.	Spiritum ieiunio	342	3
	R3	O mirandam mulieris			
		v.	Hoc pugnatura stadio		
		v.	Gloria patri	343	3
Noct2	Ant1	Ab intus Regis filie			
		Ps.	Eructavit	344	4
	Ant2	Domini refugio fortiter			
		Ps.	Deus noster refugium	344	5
	Ant3	Habens celi fundamentum			
		Ps.	Fundamenta	344	6

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	CarK1	Mode
	V	Specie tua et pulchritudine	344	*
	R1	Aspernata seculum		
		v. In gazophilacium	344	5
	R2	Egens egenis largiens		
		v. Fide grandi spe secura	345	6
	R3	Ceco nato cui nec sedes		
		v. Novum hoc spectaculum		
		v. Gloria patri et filio	346	8
Noct3	Ant1	Deo decantent omnia		
		Ps. Cantate (primus)	346	7
	Ant2	Iuste lux orta gratie		
		Ps. Dominus regnavit	347	8
	Ant3	Deus palam omnibus		
		Ps. Cantate (secundus)	347	1
	V	Adiuvabit eam Deus	347	*
	R1	Famulis se famulam		
		v. Sic sedula paupercula	347	7
	R2	Aman in patibulo		
		v. Manum mittens ad fortia	348	8
	R3	O lampas ecclesie		
		v. Tu Dei saturitas		
		v. Gloria Patri et filio	348	5
	V	Specie tua		*
Lauds	Ant1	Dominus Elizabeth induit		
		Ps. Dominus regnavit	349	4
	Ant2	Deo cum letitia		
		Ps. Jubilate	350	5
	Ant3	Hec ad Deum sitiens		
		Ps. Deus Deus	350	6
	Ant4	Domo rebus dum ablatis		
		Ps. Benedicite	350	7
	Ant5	In tantis virtutibus		
		Ps. Laudate	350	8
	H	Tandem viro	351	*
	V	Elegit eam	351	*
	Ben	Cornu salutis hodie		
		Ps. Benedictus	351	5
	Ant	Dominus Elizabeth		*
2Vesp	Mag	O beata sponsa Christi		
		Ps. Magnificat	351	6

St Anne and the Three Marys

The Carmelites' progressive understanding of their relationship to the Virgin Mary eventually extended to her relatives as well. Thus the office of her mother, St Anne, was included in the ordinal of Sibert de Beka of 1312 and by the end of the fourteenth century was celebrated with entirely proper chants and texts. The acceptance of the feast of the Three Marys, honouring Sts Mary of Cleophas and Mary of Salome, half-sisters of the Virgin Mary, into the Carmelite rite, further extended this devotion. These saints were important to the Carmelites as relatives of the Virgin, as Holy Land personages[283] and, in the case of the Marys, for their association with the resurrection of Jesus.

St Anne. The inclusion of a feast of St Anne in the ordinal of Sibert of 1312 indicates that the Carmelites venerated her at the earliest stage of their uniform liturgy.[284] The ordinal prescribed the feast to be observed as a *duplex*, with the Matins readings to be taken from 'aliqua propria legenda vel de sermone' (that is, 'any proper legend (story) or from the sermon'), while all the other chants were to be taken from the common of a holy woman (*matrona*).[285] The ordinal thus allowed more latitude for the celebration of St Anne than for most other feasts in the Carmelite rite. Devotion to St Anne within the order developed progressively, so that the General Chapter of 1375 prescribed a commemorative prayer in her honour to be said after the commemoration for the Virgin Mary herself.[286] The General Chapter of 1387 made this more precise, prescribing that the antiphons *Anna matrona* and *Anna parens* be prayed every day at Matins and Vespers respectively.[287]

[283] Thus Jaroslav Folda points out that the twelfth-century crusader church of St Anne was built in Sepphoris, a village about five miles northwest of Nazareth which, according to some medieval pilgrims' accounts, was the birthplace of both St Anne and the Virgin Mary: Jaroslav Folda, 'The Church of Saint Anne', *Biblical Archaeologist*, 54 (1991), 88–96 (pp. 88–89).

[284] For a discussion of the development of devotion to St Anne, see Jean Évenou, 'Des Apocryphes à la liturgie: les origines du culte de Sainte Anne', in *Marie dans les récits apocryphes chrétiens: 60e session de la Société Française d'Études Mariales, Sanctuaire Notre-Dame-du-Chêne, Solesmes 2003,* Études Mariales, Bulletin de la Société Française d'Études Mariales (Paris: Médiaspaul, 2004), pp. 201–21.

[285] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 236.

[286] *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, ed. by Wessels, I, 75.

[287] *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, ed. by Wessels, I, 102.

This development of liturgical devotion to St Anne paralleled the growing relationship of the Carmelites with St Anne as an extension of their Marian devotion. In the introduction to their book on the cult of St Anne, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols, Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*,[288] Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn offer an extensive discussion of a late-fifteenth-century altarpiece made for the Carmelite church in Frankfurt which gives a comprehensive pictorial overview of devotion to St Anne among the Carmelites. The altarpiece is particularly interesting since it includes a visit of the Holy Kinship, that is, the mother of St Anne and other relatives, to the Carmelites on Mount Carmel. Ashley and Sheingorn point out that it must embody a vision devoutly wished for by contemporary Carmelites, for the Holy Kinship is represented 'as the altarpiece at the choir in the background, its stalls filled with Carmelites'.[289] The choir in the background filled with Carmelites is more likely to be a representation of the early chapel on Mount Carmel where the original hermits gathered for Mass and later for the communal recitation of the Divine Office. By this time, however, the Carmelite self-understanding had progressed to the point where they believed that, since they had been founded on Mount Carmel, they were virtually synonymous with the 'sons of the prophets' referred to in the book of Kings,[290] and had lived there in continuous succession since the time of the prophets Elijah and Elisha. For the later medieval Carmelite, therefore, a visit to their ancestors by the relatives of the Virgin Mary, would not seem that extraordinary. Fr Eamon Carroll, O. Carm. discusses the widely-held tradition of the visit of St Anne and her relatives to Mount Carmel:

> So it was that a young girl by the name of Emerentia visited Mount Carmel in her mother's company. The monks encouraged her to comply with her parents' wishes and marry a devout man, Stellanus. Of their marriage two children were born, Anne and Esmeria. Esmeria continued the custom of visitng Carmel with her own children, one was St Elizabeth. St Anne did the same and when Mary was born she sometimes brought her to visit the hermits on the holy mountain. This was a well-known story at the end of the fifteenth century, when there was a great interest in St Anne.[291]

[288] *Interpreting Cultural Symbols, Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*, ed. by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1990); the question of St Anne and the Carmelites is discussed in detail in their 'Introduction', pp. 1–68.

[289] *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, ed. by Ashley and Sheingorn, p. 35.

[290] Ribot, *Ten Books*.

[291] Carroll, 'The Medieval Flowering', pp. 49–68; Ton Brandenburg also discusses the account of St Anne's mother visiting the Carmelites on Mount Carmel, but names her as

The idea of St Anne bringing the Virgin Mary to Mount Carmel to visit the Carmelites as part of her ongoing education parallels the medieval image of St Anne as teacher of Mary;[292] while not specifically a literary exercise, such a visit to Mount Carmel was nevertheless part of Mary's spiritual formation. As a type of *midrash* on the scriptures, these stories of St Anne and her relatives in turn explained how the Virgin Mary was the cousin of Elizabeth and therefore tightened the relationship between Jesus and John the Baptist. Such a *midrash* also served the Carmelites well in their self-understanding: by dating their relationship to the Virgin Mary not just to the time of their foundation on Mount Carmel, where they venerated Mary as the 'lady of the place',[293] but back to biblical times when Mary's grandmother Emerentia visited the monks on Mount Carmel, the Carmelites advanced the notion of their antiquity, something they now considered plausible after developing the Elijan origins of the order from legend into fact. This *midrash* also was useful to the Carmelites in their preaching. Theologically the *trinubium*, or three marriages of St Anne, to Joachim, Cleophas, and Salomas, by each of whom she had a daughter named Mary, was helpful in producing the cousins as an explanation for the rather awkward scripture passages, referring to the brothers of the Lord,[294] especially in view of the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary which the Carmelites were busy preaching. Since the Catholic position on the matter interpreted the Hebrew term 'brothers' to mean any blood relative, such as 'cousins',[295] the

Emerentiana rather than Emerentia. He specifically discusses a Carmelite tradition in connection with the stories concerning St Anne and her relatives. Ton Brandenburg, 'Saint Anne: A Holy Grandmother and her Children', in *Sanctity and Motherhood: Essays on Holy Mothers in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker (New York: Garland, 1995), pp. 31–65; his discussion of the Carmelites and the tradition occurs on pp. 44–45.

[292] For instance, Pamela Sheingorn explores this theme in '"The Wise Mother": The Image of St Anne Teaching the Virgin Mary', *Gesta*, 32 (1993), 69–80; see. also Wendy Scase, 'St Anne and the Education of the Virgin: Literary and Artistic Traditions and their Implications', in *England in the Fourteenth Century, Proceedings of the 1991 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Nicholas Rogers, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 3 (Stamford: Watkins, 1993), pp. 81–96.

[293] Emanuele Boaga, O. Carm. relates the term 'Domina Loci' to the idea of Marian patronage: Boaga, *The Lady of the Place: Mary in the History and in the Life of Carmel* (Roma: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2001), p. 23.

[294] Thus, 'his mother and his brothers appeared outside to speak with him' (Matthew 12. 46) and 'His mother and his brothers arrived' (Mark 3. 31).

[295] This question of the meaning of the term 'brothers' is discussed in *Mary in the New Testament: A Collaborative Assessment by Protestant and Roman Catholic Scholars*, ed. by Raymond E. Brown and others (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), especially 'Mary in the

trinubium of St Anne provided the necessary relations to reinforce this point of view, one that was well established in the later Middle Ages. Virginia Nixon has shown the importance of the Carmelites in spreading devotion to St Anne, including the Benedictine abbot of Sponheim, Johannes Trithemius, whose treatise *De laudibus sanctissimae matris Annae* of 1494 was written for the St Anne confraternity at the Carmelite convent of Frankfurt.[296] Nixon also highlights the importance of Carmelite churches in Germany and Holland for spreading devotion to St Anne.[297] She points out in particular the importance of the cult of St Anne to the Augsburg Carmelites, whose St Anne confraternity was especially important in their efforts to rebuild and enlarge their church at the end of the fifteenth century.[298] Significantly, the fully developed office of St Anne in CarK1 anticipates this German Carmelite expansion of devotion to St Anne by a whole century.

The rather general nature of Sibert's prescriptions, referring to 'aliqua legenda', enabled the Prague Carmelites who compiled CarK1 to include in the manuscript what was probably a specifically Bohemian office in honour of St Anne, which the Kraków Carmelites in turn copied into CarK3 in 1468, thereby indicating that it had become a part of their own tradition as well. The chant texts for this office are included in *Analecta Hymnica*[299] and in Hughes's *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*.[300] The Mainz Carmelites in the 1430s used a different office for St Anne,[301] suggesting that during the later Middle Ages no standard

Gospel of Mark', pp. 51-72 (pp. 65–72). The question centres around the appropriate translatation for the Greek word *adelphos*, either as a 'blood brother' or in a wider interpretation of 'kinsman' or 'relative'; p. 67 n. 127 notes that the interpretation stemming from Jerome in the fourth century favoured the term 'cousins', either through Mary's sister or through a brother or sister of Joseph; the confusion surrounding the identity of Mary of Clopas is discussed in p. 68, n. 128 of this study.

[296] Nixon, *Mary's Mother*, p. 30.

[297] Nixon, *Mary's Mother*, p. 31.

[298] Nixon, *Mary's Mother*, pp. 85–90.

[299] *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. by Blume and Dreves, v, 52–61.

[300] Hughes includes this office among the twenty-four offices for St Anne and one for Sts Joachim and Anne in his *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, I, AN29 and <http://hlub.dyndns.org/projekten/webplek/CANTUS/HTML/CANTUS_index.htm> no. 9 [accessed 18 August 2008].

[301] This office has been discussed in James Boyce, O.Carm., 'The Office of St. Anne in the Carmelite Liturgy', *Carmelus*, 52 (2005), 165–84; the Mainz version of the office has been edited in Boyce, '*Cantica Carmelitana*, II, 126–53.

version of the office prevailed within the order. The cathedral of Chartres was a preeminent centre of development for the devotion to St Anne,[302] but most of its liturgical manuscripts were destroyed during the Second World War.[303]

The office used by the Kraków Carmelites also was entirely different from offices to St Anne used in England, even among the Carmelites.[304] Thus the Kraków Carmelites evidently relied on local Bohemian usage rather than on the French tradition for their own observance of St Anne's feast. Ashley and Sheingorn suggest that papal approval for a feast of St Anne on 21 November 1378 may have been out of deference to Anne, the new queen of Bohemia, meant 'as a compliment to her through honouring her name saint'.[305] Wendy Scase cites a bull of Pope Urban VI from 1381 citing the great devotion of the English people to St Anne and making the feast a day of obligation in England, possibly out of deference for the same Anne of Bohemia, the bride of Richard II.[306] Katarzyna Płonka-Bałus refers to the relics of St Anne being obained by Charles IV in the fourteenth century.[307] Possibly this Kraków Carmelite office of St Anne, written in Prague, coincided with the extension of St Anne's cult at this time.

The Kraków Carmelite rhymed office of St Anne begins with 'Gaude Syon' as the first antiphon for first Vespers, in both CarK1 and CarK3. However, some chants in the CarK1 office were altered in the eighteenth-century revision; in the process, one leaf from the office of the office of Our Lady of the Snows was intercalated into the office of St Anne, as discussed above, so that

[302] The Chartres ordinal outlining the medieval liturgy for the diocese has been published as *L'ordinaire chartrain du XIIIe siècle*, ed. by Yves Delaporte (Chartres: Société Archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, 1953).

[303] Margot Fassler lists the liturgical books and manuscripts from Chartres, and refers to those destroyed in the fire of 1944, in her article, 'Liturgy and Sacred History in the Twelfth-Century Tympana at Chartres', *The Art Bulletin*, 75 (1993), 499–520 (pp. 518–19).

[304] Sherry Reames, 'Origins and Affiliations of the Pre-Sarum Office for Anne in the Stowe Breviary', *Music and Medieval Manuscripts, Paleography and Performance: Essays dedicated to Andrew Hughes*, ed. by John Haines and Randall Rosenfeld (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 349–68.

[305] *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, ed. by Ashley and Sheingorn, p. 21. The date of the papal decree is interesting, since it is the same date as the feast of the Presentation of Mary in the Temple, first celebrated in Avignon in 1372; the date 1378 of course coincides with the beginning of the western schism; one wonders whether the Roman emphasis on St Anne perhaps compensated for the Avignon emphasis on the Presentation of the Virgin.

[306] Wendy Scase, 'St. Anne and the Education of the Virgin', p. 83.

[307] Płonka-Bałus, 'Antyfonarz z roku 1397', p. 49.

CarK3 rather than CarK1 now contains the more stable version of the office. A comparison of selected chants between these two Kraków sources shows that text and music are predictably identical in both cases. Table 16 shows these chants in CarK1 and CarK3, along with their page number in CarK1 and folio number in CarK3, their liturgical placement, and musical mode. The modal pattern for the nine Matins antiphons is modes 1 through 8 plus mode 1, thus a perfect modal order for the antiphons. The first six Matins responsories also are in modal order from 1 through 6, but after this the ordering breaks down. This conformity to an established modal pattern suggests that the Carmelites accepted a pre-existing established office, part of the Bohemian tradition, in its entirety into their own rite; whether the instances where the responsories digress from the numerical pattern mean that it was emended or edited by the Prague Carmelites remains an open question.[308]

The most interesting of the chants from a musical point of view is the responsory 'Stirps Aaron', deliberately adapted from the 'Stirps Jesse' responsory originally composed by Fulbert of Chartres for the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary,[309] which we will discuss in Example 10 of Part IV below. The idea of associating St Anne with the priestly line of Aaron reflects a growing development of her cult.[310]

Several of the chant texts in the St Anne office refer to the *trinubium*, or three marriages of St Anne, once each to Joachim, Cleophas, and Salome, in the process engendering by each husband a daughter named Mary. The third Vespers antiphon in particular speaks of Anne's three daughters ('Anne tres sunt filie') and six grandsons in addition to Jesus ('sex alie natos genuerunt hosque beatos'), referring to St James the Lesser, St Simon, St Jude, and St Joseph the Just, sons of Mary the daughter of Cleophas and wife of Alphaeus, and St James the Great and St John the Evangelist, sons of Mary Salome.[311]

[308] Hughes discusses the implications of such a disruption of the modal order in 'Modal Order', pp. 29-51.

[309] Delaporte, 'Fulbert de Chartres et l'école chartraine', pp. 51–81; Sainte-Beuve, 'Les Répons de Saint Fulbert, pp. 121–28, 157–74.

[310] Nixon discusses these attempts to link St Anne to the royal and priestly houses in *Mary's Mother*, p. 53, and p. 177 n. 45, where she cites *Ain gar nutzlichs büchlin von dem ganzen geschlecht sant Anna und von sant Anna lobliche brůderschaft: Vnnd von etlichen grossen wunderzaichen sant Anna* (Augsburg, after 1494), now in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.

[311] Alfred Coville, 'Jean de Venette, auteur de *l'Histoire des Trois Maries*', *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 38 (1949), 355–404 (p. 398).

Table 16: Feast of St Anne

Chant		Incipit	CarK1	CarK3	Mode
Service	Prayer				
1Vesp	Ant1	Gaude Syon filie laudantes			
		Ps. Laudate pueri	94	117	1
	Ant2	Anne vita vitans pia			
		Ps. Euouae	94	117^{v}	6
	Ant3	Anne tres sunt filie			
		Ps. Euouae	94	117^{v}	5
	Ant4	Templo servientibus de rebus			
		Ps. Euouae	94	117^{v}	6
	Ant5	Anna mater cum filia			
		Ps. Euouae	95	117^{v}	6
	R	Regnum celi et vite corona			
		v. Gloriatur in conspectus			
		v. Gloria patri	95	117^{v}	5
	H	Salve sancta parens			*
	V	Diffusa			*
	Mag	O rosa vernalis			
		Ps. Magnificat	96	118	6
Matins	Inv	Diem festum Anne sancta			
		Ps. Venite	96	118	2
	V	Chori plaudat			*
Noct1	Ant1	Manum suam Anna misit			
		Ps. Domine Dominus	97	118^{v}	1
	Ant2	Manum suam aperuit			
		Ps. Celi enarrant	97	118^{v}	2
	Ant3	Fortitudo et decor			
		Ps. Domini est terra	97	118^{v}	3
	V	Diffusa est gratia			*
	R1	Anna florens clara prosapis			
		v. Digna quidem celesti	97	118^{v}	1
	R2	Stirps Aaron sanctam			
		v. Prodiit ex Anna	98	118^{v}	2
	R3	Te felix domina sublimat			
		v. Sex alie natos			
		v. Gloria patri	99	119	3
Noct2	Ant1	Os suum aperuit			
		Ps. Eructavit	99	119	4
	Ant2	Consideravit semitas			
		Ps. Dominus regnavit exultet	100	119	5
	Ant3	Date ei de fructu			
		Ps. Fundamenta	100	119^{v}	6

Chant: Service	Chant: Prayer	Incipit		CarK1	CarK3	Mode
	V	Specie tua et pulchritudine				*
	R1	Anna nupta Ioachim				
		v.	Stirpe nobilis virtute	100	119v	4
	R2	Oriunda ex Bethleem				
		v.	Tam clarum genus	119	119v	5
	R3	Anna floret ut lilium				
		v.	Iam cum sanctis			
		v.	Gloria patri	119	120	6
Noct3	Ant1	Ego quasi terebintus				
		Ps.	Cantate (primus)	120	120	7
	Ant2	Ego quasi vitis				
		Ps.	Dominus regnavit exultet	120	120	8
	Ant3	Beatus venter				
		Ps.	Cantate (secundus)	103	120v	1
	V	Adiuvabit eam Deus				*
	R1	Felix Anna cuius tres filie				
		v.	Prima gignit regem	103	120v	3
	R2	O mater Anna nobilis				
		v.	Anna mater egregia	104	120v	5
	R3	Trinitati laus eterna				
		v.	Speciosa facta es			
		v.	Gloria patri	104	121	1
	V	Ora pro nobis beata mater				*
Lauds	Ant1	Anna Christi thalamum				
		Ps.	Dominus regnavit	105	121	1
	Ant2	Pulso mentis nubilo				
		Ps.	Iubilate	106	121v	2
	Ant3	Vigilans et sitiens				
		Ps.	Deus Deus	106	121v	3
	Ant4	Benedicant omnia Deum				
		Ps.	Benedicite	106	121v	4
	Ant5	Aulam celi curie				
		Ps.	Laudate	106	121v	5
	H	Dominus sanctorum				*
	V	Elegit eam Deus				*
	Ben	Benedictus Deus qui divisit nos				
		Ps.	Benedictus	107	121v	6
2Vesp	Mag	Felix locus felix ecclesia				
		Ps.	Magnificat	107	122	1

The Three Marys. The emphasis on the *trinubium* of St Anne connects logically with the separate feast honouring Anne's three daughters, that is the Virgin Mary, Mary Cleophas, and Mary Salome. The devotion to the Three Marys, also referred to as the sisters of Mary or 'Sorores B.V.M.', became established in Provence in the fourteenth century, at about the same time that a devotion to Mary Salome developed in Italy, an example of which survives in a manuscript from Veroli, now Vatican Library, MS Vat. lat. 10781.[312] The Provençal devotion to the Three Marys was a local tradition which spread to a number of dioceses in France and eventually became part of the Carmelite rite, but was never unique to it.[313] Thus, for instance, the feast occurs in the Chartres breviary, Paris, BnF MS latin 1053,[314] beginning on folio 287, although without music, in much the same format as it follows in later Carmelite antiphonaries. The Carmelites accepted the feast as a *duplex* into their liturgy at the General Chapter of Lyon in 1342, duly recorded in the chapter acts: 'Item in rubrica tertia de divino officio addatur quod de Sororibus beatae Mariae, scilicet Maria Jacobi et Maria Salome in die sancti Urbani fiat officium sicut in festo duplici est notatum'.[315] The rank of *duplex* gives the feast a substantial solemnity and the mention of St Urban means that it was to be celebrated on 25 May, the traditional date of this feast. The Marys in question refer to the other two

[312] This office has been edited in Boyce, 'The Office of St. Mary of Salome', *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society*, 11 (1988), 25–47.

[313] While Margaret Rickert mentions this as 'one of the most characteristic Carmelite feasts' in *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal: An English Manuscript of the late XIV Century in the British Museum (Additional 29704-5, 44892)* (London: Faber and Faber, 1950), p. 129, and Valerie Edden mentions it as a Carmelite devotion in her article, 'The Mantle of Elijah', pp. 67-83, one needs to remember that this feast was a Provençal devotion which the Carmelites adopted rather than one which originated with them. See, for instance, Yves Delaporte, 'Le culte liturgique des "Trois Maries" dans le diocèse de Chartres', *La voix de Notre-Dame de Chartres* (1921), 59–63 for a discussion of this feast in the usage of the diocese of Chartres.

[314] The office in this tradition was celebrated on 22 May rather than 25 May, as in the Carmelite use: thus the rubric at the beginning of the feast on fol. 287 of this breviary states: 'Vicesima ii maii celebratur festum beatarum marie iacobi et salome sororum be[atissi]me virginis videlicet xxii maii in honore be[atiss]ime iacobi et etiam xxij octobris in honore be[atissi]me salome'. This rubric thus left open the option of separating the feast and honouring St Mary Jacobi (Cleophas) on 22 May and St Mary Salome on 22 October. It also defines St Mary Jacobi as the mother of St James the Less rather than the wife of Alphaeus, a term which the Carmelites also used to identify her.

[315] Zimmerman, *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana*, I, 141.

daughters of St Anne from the *trinubium* discussed above. Mary the daughter of Cleophas in turn married Alphaeus, so that she is sometimes known as Mary of Alphaeus rather than of Cleophas, and had four sons, St James the Lesser, St Simon, St Jude, and St Joseph the Just. Cleophas was probably not the St Cleophas identified as a disciple of the Lord and celebrated as a martyr in the Carmelite liturgy, discussed above. The third daughter of St Anne, Mary Salome, became the mother of St James the Great and St John the Evangelist.[316] Implicit in the story of the Three Marys, but not made explicit in the office texts for the feast, is the widely circulated belief that Lazarus, Mary Magdalene, the Marys, and their servant Sarah were set adrift in an oarless boat which miraculously transported them to the south of France, landing near a village in the Camargue region known as Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer,[317] where devotion to the Marys continues to the present day. The feast of the Three Marys is closely allied to the work of the Carmelite chronicler Jean de Venette, who wrote his celebrated *Histoire des Trois Maries*, based on this Provençal legend, in 1357.[318] Jean de Venette became Prior of the Paris Carmelite convent in 1339[319] and later Provincial of France, so that in one capacity or the other he surely would have attended the Chapter of Lyon in 1342[320] which accepted the feast into the Carmelite liturgy. A century later when Blessed Françoise d'Amboise founded the Carmelite convent of Vannes in 1464, she named it for the Three Marys.[321] While the complete musical office survives only in Carmelite manuscripts[322] the office texts can be found in some French breviaries,[323] so that it seems to be

[316] Coville, 'Jean de Venette, auteur de *l'Histoire des Trois Maries*', p. 398.

[317] Michael T. Driscoll, O. Carm., '"L'histoire des Trois Maries" by Jean de Venette, O. Carm., *Cahiers de Joséphologie*, 23 (1975), 231–54 (p. 240).

[318] Driscoll, '"L'histoire des Trois Maries" by Jean de Venette', p. 232.

[319] Driscoll, '"L'histoire des Trois Maries" by Jean de Venette', p. 234.

[320] Driscoll, '"L'histoire des Trois Maries" by Jean de Venette', p. 235, gives the date for the chapter as 1341; the acts of the General Chapters published by Zimmerman in *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana*, I give the date of 1342, which is likely the more official version.

[321] Évenou, 'Des Apocryphes à la liturgie', p. 219 note 22.

[322] The two versions of this office, in Florence, Carmine, MS O from the 1390s and Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, codex E from the 1430s have been edited by James Boyce, O. Carm., 'The Office of the Three Marys in the Carmelite Liturgy', *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society*, 12 (1989), 1–38.

[323] For example, the office is found in Paris, BnF, MS latin 1053, a breviary from Chartres, beginning on fol. 287.

more likely that the Carmelites accepted and promulgated a feast which was already well established rather than initiating it themselves.

Within the Kraków tradition the feast of the Three Marys occurs in CarK3 from 1468 but not in the manuscripts compiled in Prague and later revised in the eighteenth century, where it should normally occur in CarK1. While the feasts of Our Lady of the Snows, the Visitation and St Anne were either revised for later usage or simply left unchanged in the manuscript, the Three Marys feast, like the Presentation of Mary, is noticeably absent from the three original Kraków manuscripts. The reasons for this absence may be political rather than theological. For seventy years, from 1308 until 1378, the seat of the papacy was established in Avignon,[324] so that a strong connection prevailed between this regionalized French feast and the Avignon papacy. By the time of foundation of the Kraków convent and the production of the earliest three manuscripts, the Church and order were divided by the western schism. The office of the Visitation and the dedication of the Kraków convent to the Visitation, both had the aim of ending the schism, according to the wishes of Boniface IX, Queen Jadwiga, and also John of Jenstein, Archbishop of Prague. The feasts of the Three Marys and the Presentation were specifically associated with the Avignon court, although before the schism began, and also were based on legend rather than on scriptural tradition. It is thus quite plausible that the Three Marys feast was deliberately excluded from the original set of choir books brought from Prague to Kraków. By the time of writing of CarK3 in 1468 the western schism had been healed for half a century,[325] so that the inclusion of the feast in CarK3 no longer had the same political implications as it had earlier; in addition, the feast had been accepted into the Carmelite liturgy legitimately, and the order's distinctive uniform tradition required that it be celebrated throughout the order, which probably explains its presence in CarK3 and not in earlier manuscripts.

Table 17 shows the chants for this feast as used in CarK3 in comparison with the versions in Mainz and Florence Carmelite manuscripts, with the mode for each chant in the three traditions. We have shown elsewhere that the musical version of this office between two Carmelite centres, Mainz [CarME] and Florence [CarFO], was entirely different.[326] The musical version of this Kraków

[324] E. Jarry, 'Avignon', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, I 941–43; W. Ullmann, 'Avignon Papacy', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, I, 943–45.

[325] The Council of Konstanz (1414–18), convened by the Bohemian emperor Charles IV, finally brought the western schism to an end. See n. 159 above.

[326] Boyce, 'The Office of the Three Marys', pp. 1-38.

office agrees with the Mainz version, which is not surprising, since Kraków was part of the Upper German province; the separation of Germany into two provinces was presumably a practical response to reflect the order's expansion, wherein the Carmelites founded new convents not only in Germany but also in Bohemia and Poland during the latter part of the fourteenth century.

Table 17: Feast of the Three Marys

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	CarK3	Mode (K/ M)**	Mode (F)**
1Vesp	R	Hodie Marie		*	*
	H	Hodierna festi		*	*
	V	Marie Jacobi et Salome		*	*
	Mag	Ecce dies gloriosa			
		Ps. Magnificat	90	1	1
Matins	Inv	Jubilemus			
		Ps. Venite	90	4	4
	H	Letabunt omnes		*	*
Noct1	Ant1	Gratuletur civium			
		Ps. Domine Dominus	90	1	2
	Ant2	Hodie celebritas			
		Ps. Celi enarrant	90	2	4
	Ant3	Alme matris nomine			
		Ps. Domini est terra	90v	3	3
	V	Maria Jacobi et Salome		*	*
	R1	Sollempnitas beatarum			
		v. Felicium par	90v	1	1
	R2	Ante regis solium			
		v. Hec puelle due	90v	2	3
	R3	Hodie Marie Jacobi			
		v. Ad earum igitur			
		v. Gloria patri	91	6T	1
Noct2	Ant1	Maria de Joachim			
		Ps. Eructavit	91	4	7
	Ant2	Maria Jacobi minoris			
		Ps. Deus noster	91	5	8
	Ant3	Maria Salome proles			
		Ps. Fundamenta	91v	6T	1
	V	Et respicientes		*	*
	R1	Maria Magdalene dueque sorores			
		v. Et dicunt adinvicem	91v	7	5
	R2	Mirande propagines tres ex una			
		v. Six ex Anna tres puelle	91v	2	2

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	CarK3	Mode (K/ M)**	Mode (F)**
	R3	Super throno Salomonis			
		v. Virgo mater pietatis			
		v. Gloria patri	91v	6	8
Noct3	Ant1	Maria primogenita Joseph			
		Ps. Cantate (primus)	92	7	2
	Ant2	Maria mater Jacobi			
		Ps. Dominus regnavit exultet	92	8	3
	Ant3	Ex hac ergo Jacobus			
		Ps. Cantate (secundus)	92	6	4
	V	Haec cum aromatibus		*	*
	R1	O Jesu deifere			
		v. Haec super candelabrum	92v	5	6
	R2	Orto solis radio			
		v. Non est hic quem queritis	92v	8	5
	R3	Gaudeamus hodie			
		v. Felices matertere	92v	7	6
	V	Orate pro nobis beate		*	*
Lauds	Ant1	Cum Maria Magdalene			
		Ps. Dominus regnavit	93	8	1
	Ant2	Ad sepulchrum Domini			
		Ps. Jubilate	93	7	2
	Ant3	Haec cum aromatibus			
		Ps. Deus Deus meus	93	7	
	Ant4	Et intrantes splendidum			
		Ps. Benedicite	93	8	3
	Ant5	Quis revolvet lapidem			
		Ps. Laudate Dominum	93v	8	
	H	Sermone blando		*	*
	V	Jesum queritis Nazarenum		*	*
	Ben	Mulieres angelus leniter			
		Ps. Benedictus	93v	6	5
2Vesp	R	Gaudeamus hodie		*	*
	Mag	O lux luce clarior			
		Ps. Magnificat		5	6

** K=Kraków; M=Mainz; F=Florence

Table 17 shows the modal pattern for the two versions of this Three Marys office. Since each version includes only the Vespers Magnificat antiphon, one cannot know if any modal ordering prevailed for the Vespers antiphons, nor even with certainty what their texts were. In the Mainz/Kraków version at least some attempt was made to follow a modal order for the Matins antiphons and

responsories, at least for the first two nocturns. Thus the Matins antiphons run sequentially from 1 through 7, followed by antiphons in modes 7 and 6 respectively. No corresponding sequential pattern obtains for the responsories in this Mainz/Kraków version. The Florentine version made so little an attempt at modal ordering that one could say that, if it exists at all, it is accidental rather than deliberate. In the Lauds chants the two versions disagree on texts as well as melodies, since 'Quis revolvet lapidem', the fifth antiphon in Mainz/Kraków, is the third in Florence, replacing 'Hee cum aromata' in that tradition and adding 'Respondens autem angelus' as the fifth antiphon in the Florentine tradition.

The antiphon texts for the second nocturn discuss the identity of each of the three Marys, the daughters of Joachim, Cleophas, and Salome respectively. The second antiphon's text is 'Maria Jacobi minoris / est mater/ cuius pater fuit Cleophas / homo justus pater', thus defining her first in reference to her son St James the Less, and only afterwards in terms of her father, Cleophas. The first Matins responsory, 'Maria Magdalene dueque sorores', relates Mary Magdalene to the two sisters, all of whom came to the tomb to anoint the wounds of the Lord, a slight variation of the Marcan text which simply states 'venientes ungerent Iesum'.[327] The rhymed text is 'Maria Magdalene dueque sorores / emerunt aromatatum misticos odores / Cupientes stigmatum ungere livores / alleluia. / v. Et dicunt ad invicem / quis revolvet silicem / ad sepulchri fores'. This responsory, along with the Lauds antiphons, by relating the three Marys to the holy women coming to the tomb, links them to the resurrection experience. The emphasis on the wounds rather than simply on the Lord perhaps relates this feast to the medieval devotion to the wounds of Christ. Thus the feast fulfills two aims at the same time, exalting the relatives of the Virgin Mary and reflecting on the experience of the resurrection. Musically some of these pieces were important in their own right as well as in the ways they were adapted into other chants. One such chant, 'Mirande propagines', will be discussed in Part IV as our Example 14. The presence in the Carmelite liturgy of this feast of the Three Marys, surely foreign to the Kraków diocesan liturgy, added a new dimension to the variety of liturgical experiences in Kraków and thereby expanded its liturgical worship.

[327] Mark 16. 1; *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, ed. by Colunga and Turrado.

Part IV: Musical Characteristics of Selected Chants

In Part III we have discussed the liturgical aspects of the medieval Carmelite rite, particularly the feasts, which make it distinctive. Some of these feasts, such as the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were not celebrated at all in other rites except in the Holy Sepulchre liturgy; others, such as the Transfiguration, used at least some highly distinctive chants for the liturgy, making the Carmelite celebration markedly different from the few other rites that celebrated the feast in the fourteenth century. Most Marian feasts in the Carmelite tradition used the same set of chants for Vespers and a series of chants for Matins that was distinctive in its liturgical organization. Some Carmelite feasts preserved newly composed rhymed offices from other traditions. It now remains for us to discuss in detail the textual and/or musical characteristics of these pieces that help to make the Carmelite liturgy distinctive. These pieces fall into two categories: 1) chants which are of special interest to the Carmelite liturgy as expressed in Kraków; and 2) chants which are of interest because of their unique composition or because of their relationship to other chants.

Chants which are of Special Interest to the Kraków Carmelite Liturgy

In the musical terminology we use to discuss the musical examples, *c*, *d*, *e*, and so on, refer to the note beginning at 'middle *c*' and above, while c^1, d^1 , etc. refer to the notes an octave above, and c^{-1}, d^{-1}, and so on, refer to the notes an octave below. Since the pieces in these manuscripts were intended for male performers, we use the treble clef with an '8' below it to indicate that the pitch should be an octave below the indicated note. For the sake of convenience we discuss these pitches as though they were in the normal range, not an octave below. If women sang from these codices they would obviously use the normal treble range.

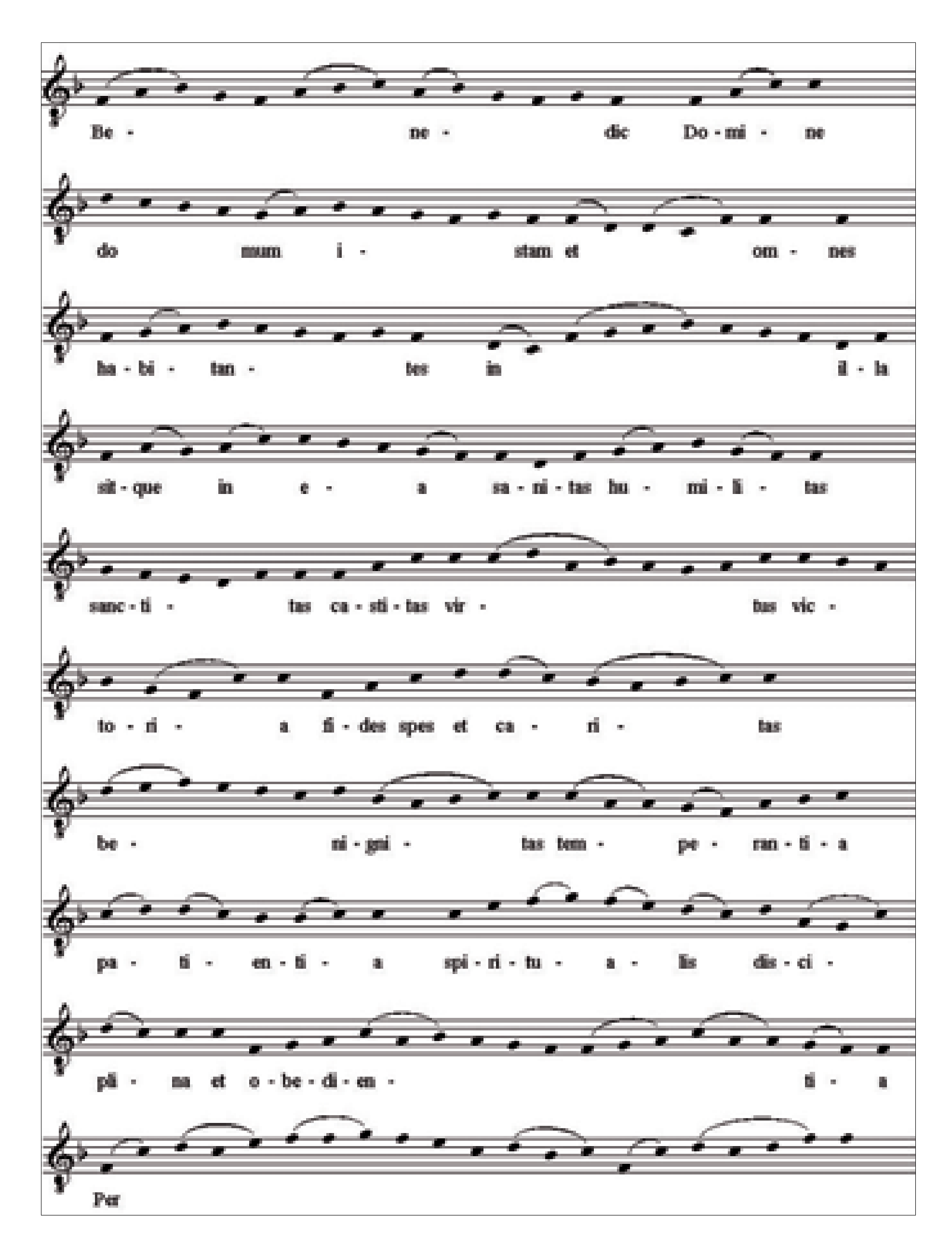
Example 1: The responsory 'Benedic Domine domum istam' from the office of the Dedication of a Church.

We have discussed in Parts II and III the unique character of some chants in CarK3 and in Wrocław, Ossiliński Library, MS 12025/IV (Wro), which digressed both from the tradition of the rite of the Holy Sepulchre and from established Carmelite tradition as defined by the ordinal of Sibert de Beka. The liturgical differences involved either the different placement of chants in this liturgy from other usages, the use of different responsory verses, and in some cases the use of entirely different chant texts. While the Matins responsories

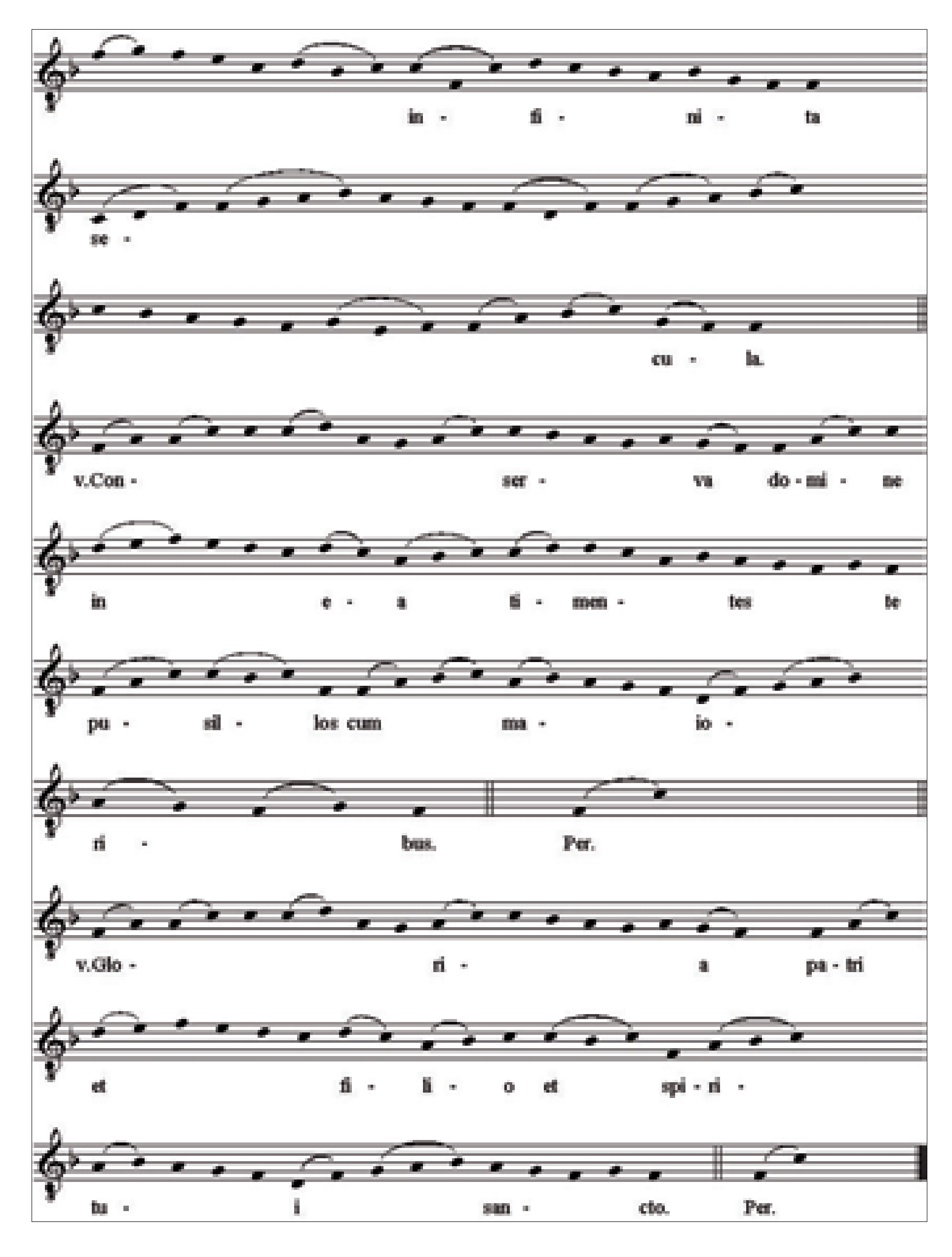
generally conformed to accepted musical practice, wherein the verses followed the established tone for each mode, Wro digressed even from the later use of CarK3 in its choice of the ninth responsory for Matins. The newly composed music of 'Benedic Domine domum istam', especially with its distinctive text and music for the verse, 'Conserva Domine', situates this responsory within the genre of rhymed office pieces rather than the conventional chants, as Example 1 illustrates, and is one of the few instances where an office digressed from the customary prescriptions of Sibert's ordinal.[328] Both the respond and the verse end on final *f*, at the end of 'secula' and 'maioribus' respectively, thus situating it in either the fifth or sixth mode, depending on the range of the notes. Usually pieces in the authentic fifth mode use the range from *f* to f^1 while those in the lower or plagal range use the notes from *c* to c^1. Here, however, in both the respond and the verse the melody exploits the limits of both the authentic and plagal ranges, thus ascending to g^1 in the upper (authentic) range in the respond and to f^1 in the verse, while at the same time descending to *c* (the plagal range) in the respond and *d* in the verse. Thus it is hard to decide whether the piece prefers the upper or the lower range. The florid style of the chant and its wide range perhaps are meant to reinforce the text, which wishes blessings on the inhabitants of the new church and convent. The verse not only does not follow the established tone for the fifth or sixth mode but, like rhymed office responsory verses, begins and ends on *f*, the final of the mode.[329] It too encompasses a very wide range, extending to g^1 in the upper range and *c* in the lower, thus exploiting the full gamut of the fifth and sixth modes. The piece is a prayer for protection for those who inhabit the church and convent, asking that they may have holiness, hope, and other virtues, while the verse asks that both old and young may appropriately reverence the Lord. Since this responsory does have the same incipit as one in a Prague breviary, shown in the CAO-ECE index, it may not unique to the Carmelites, although it still is a rare instance of this text. Since this responsory is found only in Wro and not in CarK3, the Prague Carmelites probably incorporated it into the new manuscript they were making for the Kraków convent and the later Kraków Carmelites probably

[328] This office is discussed in James Boyce, O. Carm., 'Consecrating the House: The Carmelites and the Office of the Dedication of a Church', in *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, ed. by Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 129–45.

[329] Boyce, 'Rhymed Office Responsory Verses', pp. 99–121.



Example 1: The responsory ‘BenedicDomine domum istam’ in <u>Wro</u>.

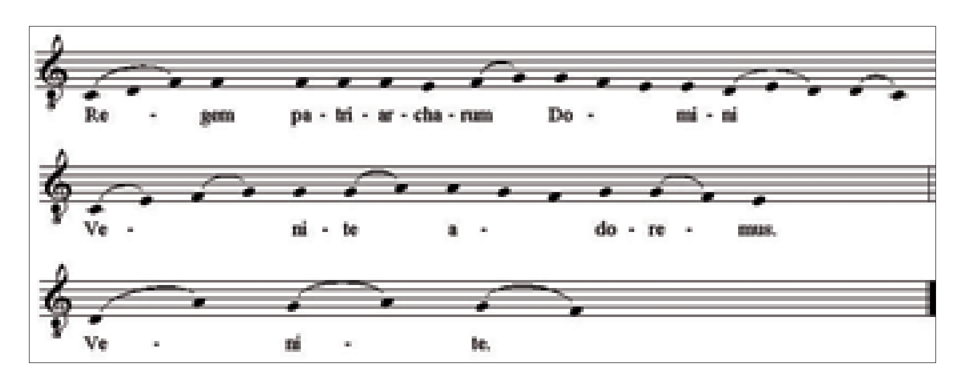


Example 1: The responsory 'BenedicDomine domum istam' in Wro continued.

chose to replace it with the more conventional responsory, 'Terribilis est locus iste'. It remains, however, unique in the Carmelite liturgical tradition and exceedingly rare in the chant tradition as a whole.

Example 2: The invitatory antiphon 'Regem patriarcharum Domini' from the office of the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (6 October).

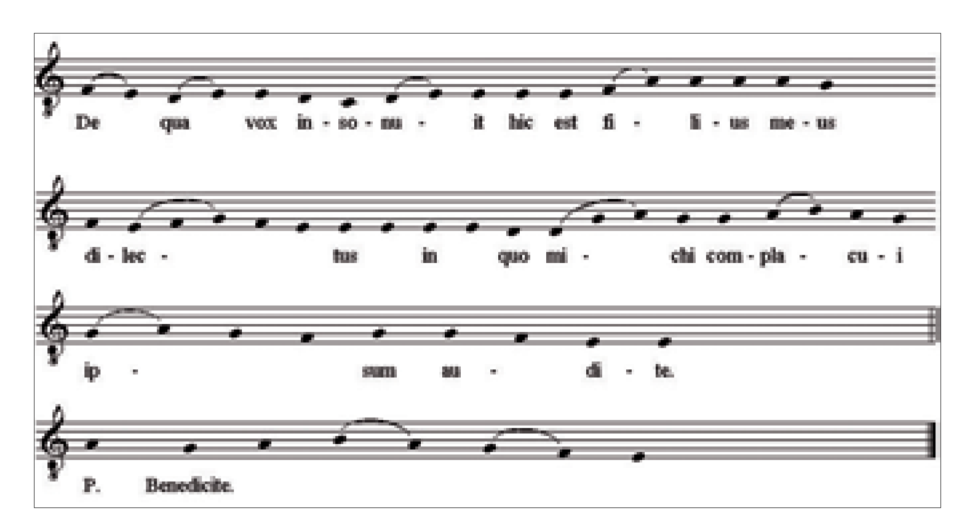
We have demonstrated in Part III that the organization of standard chants, generally taken from the summer histories, into this distinctive feast of the patriarchs is unique to the Carmelite and Holy Sepulchre liturgies. Moreover, from the surviving Carmelite manuscripts the fully notated pieces for this feast represent a later stage of development than is the case with most codices from the Holy Sepulchre liturgy. The one chant in this feast which does not derive from the standard repertory is the invitatory antiphon for Psalm 94 of Matins, 'Regem patriarcharum', shown in our Example 2, a chant text which is unique to the Carmelite and Holy Sepulchre liturgies. What makes this piece distinctive is its opening text, 'Regem patriarcharum Domini', since the patriarchs of the Old Testament were never celebrated in the western medieval liturgies. Thus the idea of calling people to worship God as the king of the patriarchs is itself unique. The piece is in mode 4 with the final on *e* and uses the lower or plagal range of notes, in this case relating directly to the brevity of the chant. Thus while the music is essentially standard, the combination of text and music here makes the piece unique.



Example 2: The invitatory antiphon 'Regem patriarcharum Domini' in CarK1, p. 274.

Example 3: The Antiphon 'De qua vox insonuit' from the office of the Transfiguration.

As we observed in Part III, the first four Lauds antiphons for the Transfiguration feast follow a modal order of modes 1 through 4, much like rhymed offices, even though the texts here are not rhymed. This fourth Lauds antiphon 'De qua vox insonuit', occurs only in Mainz and Kraków Carmelite sources; the Kraków Carmelite version occurs in CarK1, page 125, shown in our Example 3, and is predictably in mode 4. Mode 4 pieces normally have their final on *e* and use the lower range for the mode, roughly extending from *c* to c^1; in this case the lowest note is *d* and the highest is *b*, so that the notes are well within the normal range for fourth mode. One notices an emphasis on the *e*, the final of the mode, at the end of 'de qua vox', 'insonuit', and 'dilectus', so that the textual meaning is reinforced by the music; similarly the note *g* is emphasized at 'michi', 'complacui' and 'ipsum', so that both the textual units and the important musical notes of the mode are clearly expressed. While the antiphon melody is relatively simple, its composer nonetheless took considerable pains to correctly convey the meaning of the text. Since the text is crucial for understanding the importance of the transfiguration, 'From it [the cloud] a voice sounded saying 'this is my beloved son in whom I am well pleased, listen to him', the musical notes correctly emphasize important words in the text and hence correctly convey its message. A similar musical reinforcement of the text applies to the other Lauds antiphons for this feast.



Example 3: The antiphon 'De qua vox insonuit' in CarK1, p. 125.

Example 4: The responsory 'Assumens Jesus' from the office of the Transfiguration.

While antiphons, even in rhymed offices, normally do not exhibit any unusual musical characteristics, the great responsories often present themselves as newly composed pieces. In particular, the verse formula often digresses from the customary one for its particular mode. The responsory 'Assumens Ihesus Petrum' from the office of the Transfiguration, as used in CarK1, page 123,[330] falls into this tradition of the rhymed responsory, even though the rhyme scheme is rather casual. Thus the text is 'Assumens Jesus Petrum et Iacobum et Johannem fratrem eius / In montem excelsum ascendit / ibi se transfigurans sue glorie claritatem eis ostendit. / V. Ne videntes eius passionem turbarentur/ sed fortiori soliditate firmarentur'. Thus the rhyme is between 'ascendit' and 'ostendit' in the first part and between 'turbarentur' and 'firmarentur' in the verse. Furthermore, the Carmelites fashioned this responsory musically according to the model of a rhymed office responsory in that its verse does not follow the customary melodic formula. Our Example 4 shows this responsory and includes a modified version of the standard verse formula for comparison.[331] The first part of the responsory, known as the respond, ends at the word 'ostendit' on the note *d*; the range of the respond spans *d* to $d^{1,}$ thus, the full octave, clearly indicating that the piece is in mode 1. The traditional verse formula normally consists of two more or less equal parts: the first begins on *a* and normally moves through several notes to come to a resting point or cadence, also on *a*; the second half begins on the same *a* and moves through a series of notes to finish on the *f* below. Where such responsory verses digress from the established melody, they sometimes retain one part of it and change the other, or sometimes are completely rewritten. Invariably such new or altered verses will have their final cadence on the same note, or final, as the tone itself, thus, in this case, *d*. Often they will expand the range of the notes used in the verse to include most of those in the mode itself, so that for mode 1, the range is from *d* to d^{1}.[332]

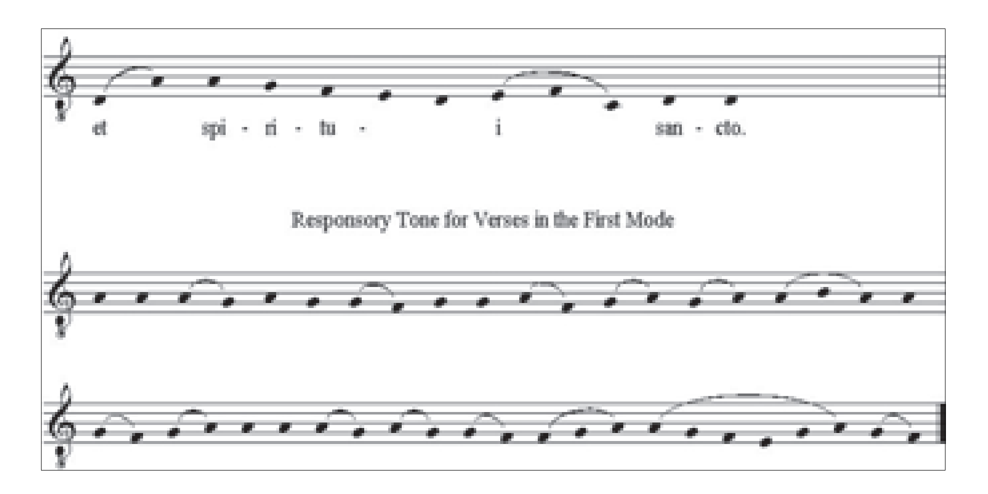
[330] This responsory as used in Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, codex C, f. 255v and Florence, Museo di San Marco, MS Inv. 576 (E), fol. 14, is discussed in Boyce, 'The Medieval Carmelite Office Tradition', *Acta Musicologica*, 52 (1990), 119–51 (pp. 138, 142–45) (repr. in James Boyce, O. Carm., *Praising God in Carmel: Studies in Carmelite Liturgy* (Washington, D.C.: The Carmelite Institute, 1999), pp. 255–57).

[331] Our source for this and other verse tones is Paul Cutter and Davitt Moroney, 'Responsory', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, xv, 759–65 (pp. 762–63).

[332] The stylistic traits of these responsory verses have been discussed in Boyce, 'Rhymed Office Responsory Verses', pp. 99–121.



Example 4: The responsory 'Assumens Jesus' from CarK1, p. 123.



Example 4: The responsory 'Assumens Jesus' from CarK1, p. 123 continued.

Such an adapted verse formula is the case with the responsory verse, 'Ne videntes', to the responsory 'Assumens Ihesus'. Here the verse 'Ne videntes' generally follows the tonal formula for the first half of the verse, thus coming to a median or intermediate cadence, on *a* at 'turbarentur'. The second half, however, at 'sed', begins on *a* and rises to d^1, the uppermost note in the range, then exploits the lower note *d* and eventually ends on it at the word 'firmarentur'. Since the digression from the tonal formula could easily create some doubt as to what the mode should be, the composers of such new verses usually made them end on *d* to reaffirm the correct mode of the piece. The use of this rhymed responsory for this feast indicates the esteem with which this chant and the feast itself were held in the Carmelite liturgical tradition.

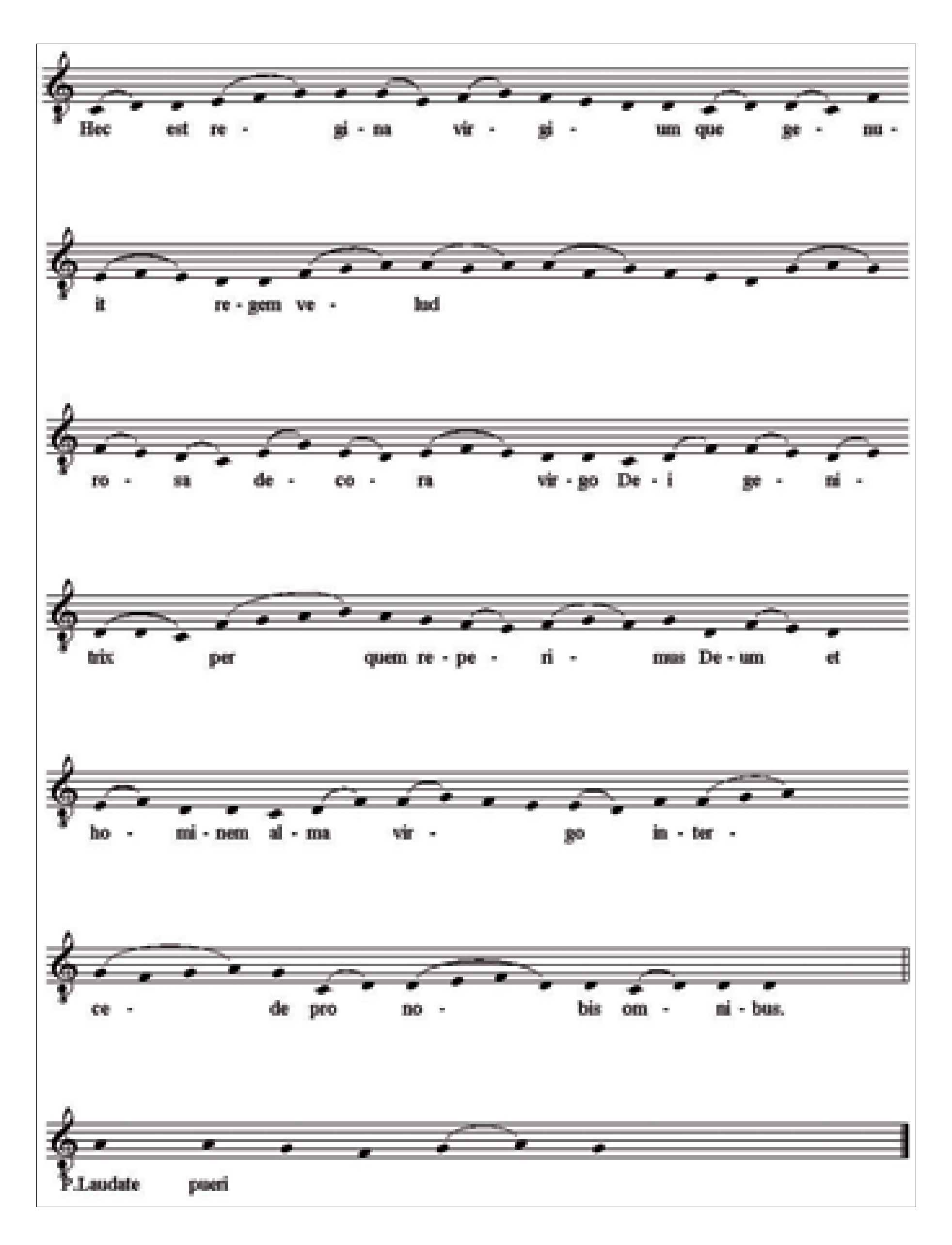
Example 5: The antiphon 'Hec est regina' from the office of the Assumption.

The antiphon 'Hec est regina' holds special significance within the Carmelite tradition as the first of the first Vespers antiphons. As Plate 3 shows, the historiated initial 'H' features a depiction of the coronation of the Virgin. The antiphon text is a prayer of intercession that recalls Mary's role in reconciling humanity to God ('per quem reperimus Deum et hominem'). This is a first mode antiphon, but the antiphons following it do not observe a modal order. Musically the antiphon has a somewhat restricted range, rising only to *b* rather than d^1, but emphasizes *d* not only as the last note or final of the piece, but also at the end of most textual phrases, thus as 'virginum', 'regem', 'hominem', and 'omnibus'. While the melody is relatively standard, what is

significant here is the union of the lexical, musical, and visual elements to render the text musically and to reinforce it by the visual image of the coronation.

Example 6: The responsory 'Felix namque' from the office of the Conception of the Virgin.

As we demonstrated in Part III, chants for the feast of the Conception of Mary are all taken from the common fund of Marian chants, deliberately preferred over a rhymed office because of a long standing tradition within the order. The responsory 'Felix namque', shown as Example 6, is one such standard chant for feasts in honour of the Virgin Mary. This piece is in mode 1 and gives a good example of the use of the standard mode 1 responsory tone, the melody applied to the verse text, as it pertains to this text. The mode 1 responsory tone is normally divided into two halves, as shown in Example 4, with the first one stopping at *a* an the second ending on *f*. Since in this case the text of the verse itself is rather long, the termination point on *a* occurs first at 'clero', then again at 'sexu', a third time at 'iuvamen', and a fourth at 'celebrant' before the second half of the melody accompanies the text 'tuam conceptionem'. While this standard text is normally adapted to include the specific Marian feast being celebrated, this example marks a very rare if not unique instance in the chant repertory where the specific word 'conceptionem' is used to refer to this feast in honour of the Virgin Mary's conception. Even though no reference to the Immaculate Conception is explicitly stated, this verse text clearly reflects the controversy surrounding the feast in which the Carmelites played a significant role.



Example 5: The antiphon 'Hec est regina' for the feast of the Assumption in <u>CarK1</u>, p. 145.



Example 6: The responsory 'Felix namque' in CarK5, fol. 100ᵛ.



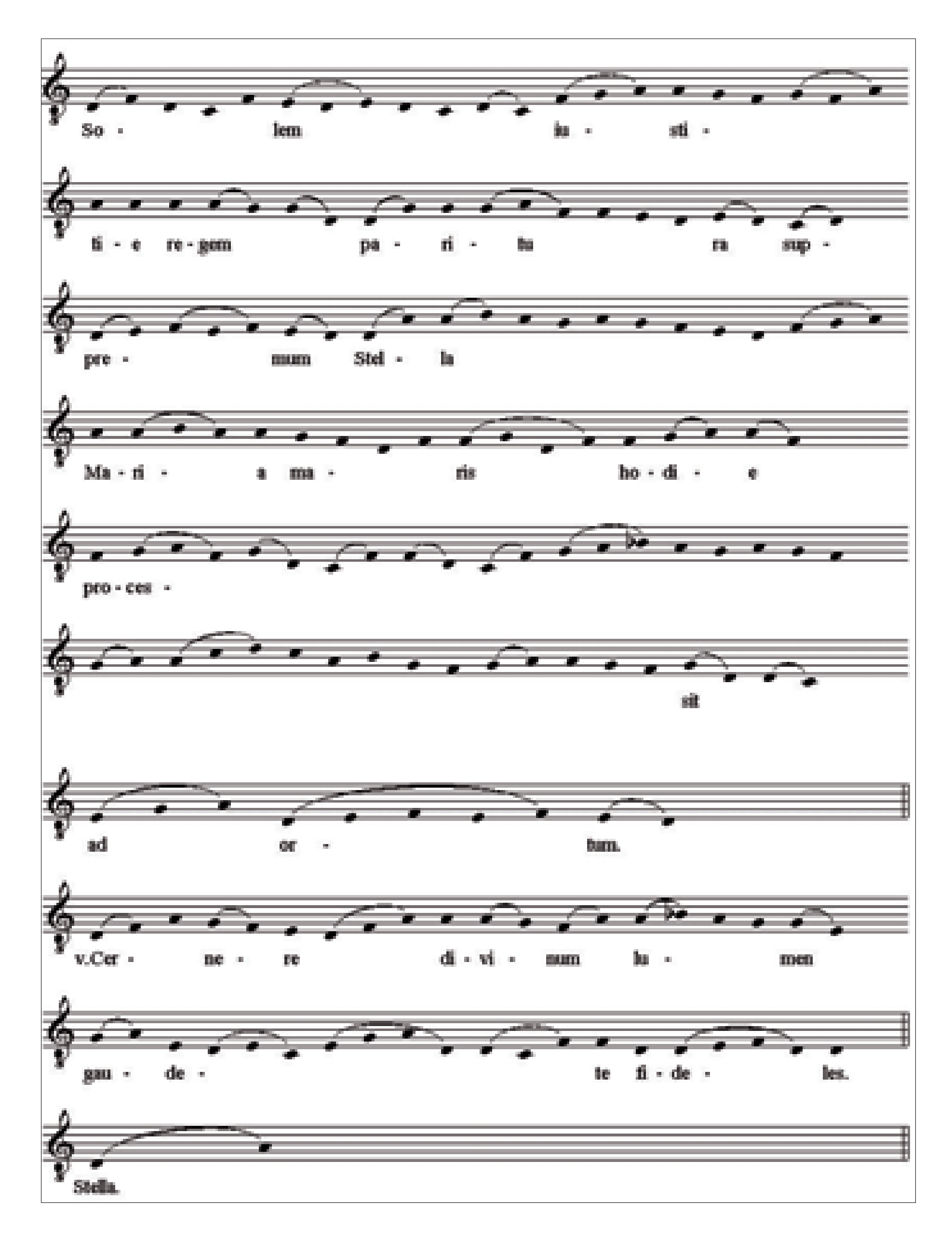
Example 6: The responsory 'Felix namque' in CarK5, fol. 100^{v} continued.

Example 7: The responsory 'Optimam partem' from the office of St Mary Magdalene.

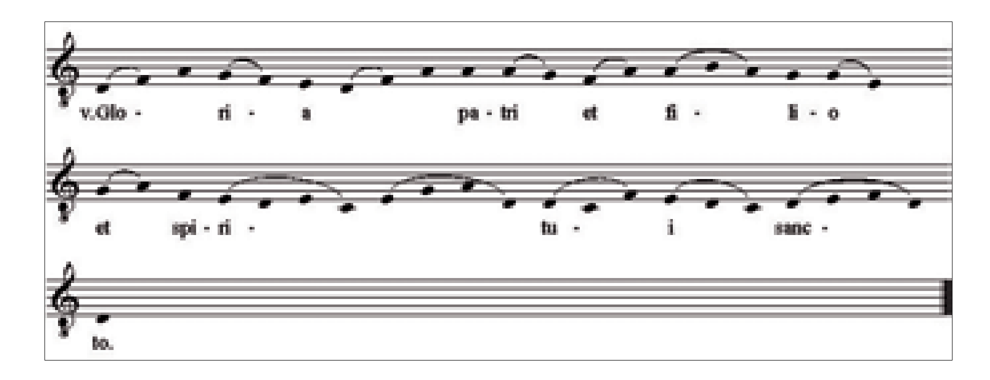
The responsory 'Optimam partem' is rarely used for the feast of St Mary Magdalene, since it reflects the general confusion concerning the identity of this saint, as we discussed in Part III. The responsory as contained in Kraków, Carmelite convent, MS 1, page 83, shown as our Example 7, illustrates the distinctiveness of its text. The text of the respond adds the words 'in eternum' to the end of the traditional text of Luke 10. 42, thus yielding 'Optimam partem elegit sibi Maria. Que non auferetur ab ea in eternum'. The better part that Mary has chosen normally refers to contemplation over action and the additional words 'in eternum' suggest that she will inherit heaven and contemplate God forever. The verse is a Christian gloss explaining this text: 'Diligens Dominum ex corde perfectissimo celorum obtinuit dignitatem', citing her perfect love for God as the reason that she attained the dignity of heaven. The text of this responsory thus conflates Mary Magdalene with the sister of Martha and reinforces the Carmelite ideal of contemplation and of having a loving heart. Melismas on the words 'elegit', 'Maria', 'auferetur', 'ea', and 'eternum' in the respond and on 'perfectissimo' and 'dignitatem' in the verse highlight the importance of this text. Similarly the contours of the melody clarify and reinforce the text: thus 'optimam partem' begins and ends on *g*, with the second phrase, 'elegit sibi Maria' beginning and ending on *g* while rising to e^1 at 'elegit'. The highest note in the respond occurs on a^1 at 'ea'. The first half of the verse ends appropriately at 'perfectissimo' and the second at a rather melismatic 'dignitatem'. Thus the careful application of music to text highlights the importance of this piece honouring both St Mary Magdalene and the contemplative way of life.



Example 7: The responsory 'Optimam partem' for the feast of St Mary Magdalene in CarK1, p. 83.



Example 8: The responsory 'Solem iustitie' in CarK1, p. 192.



Example 8: The responsory 'Solem iustitie' in CarK1, p. 192 continued.

Chants which are of Interest because of their Musical Style or their Relationship to other Chants

Example 8: The responsory 'Solem iustitie' from the office of the Nativity of Mary.

The Carmelites sometimes incorporated pieces written by others into their liturgy to celebrate important feasts in their tradition. Thus Fulbert, the renowned bishop of Chartres (952/62–1028), wrote three Matins responsories in honour of the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary[333] to enhance the already strong Marian devotion at the cathedral, which boasts having the tunic of the Virgin as its primary relic.[334]

The three responsories added to the Matins chants for the Nativity of Mary are 'Solem iustitiae', 'Stirps Jesse', and 'Ad nutum Domini'. We have seen that the Carmelites chose to illuminate the 'S' of 'Solem' in CarK1, page 192, perhaps because of its positioning in the liturgical structure or perhaps because of their appreciation for Fulbert's text. Examples of such chants with music are particularly important since relatively little has survived from the original Chartres liturgy. Thus Example 8 shows the responsory 'Solem iustitie' as found

[333] Delaporte, 'Fulbert de Chartres et l'école chartraine', p. 55; see also Sainte-Beuve, 'Les Répons de Saint Fulbert', pp. 121–28, 157–74. For a general discussion of Fulbert, see F. Behrends, 'Fulbert of Chartres', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, VI, 20.

[334] E. P. Colbert, 'Chartres [History]', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, III, 441–42, where the tunic is discussed on p. 441, an J. R. Johnson, 'Chartres [Cathedral]', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, III, 439–41.

in CarK1, page 192. The piece is in mode 1, with final on *d* at 'ortum' and the range of the respond, from *c* to d^1. The long melisma on the middle syllable of 'processit' expresses the full gamut of the range, from *c* to d^1. The word 'supremum' rhymes with 'ortum' and 'hodie' rhymes with 'iustitie' in the respond. Musically the respond is quite florid and the verse is newly composed, with little resemblance to the standard tone and with final predictably on *d* at 'fideles'.

Example 9: The responsory 'Stirps Jesse' from the office of the Nativity of Mary.

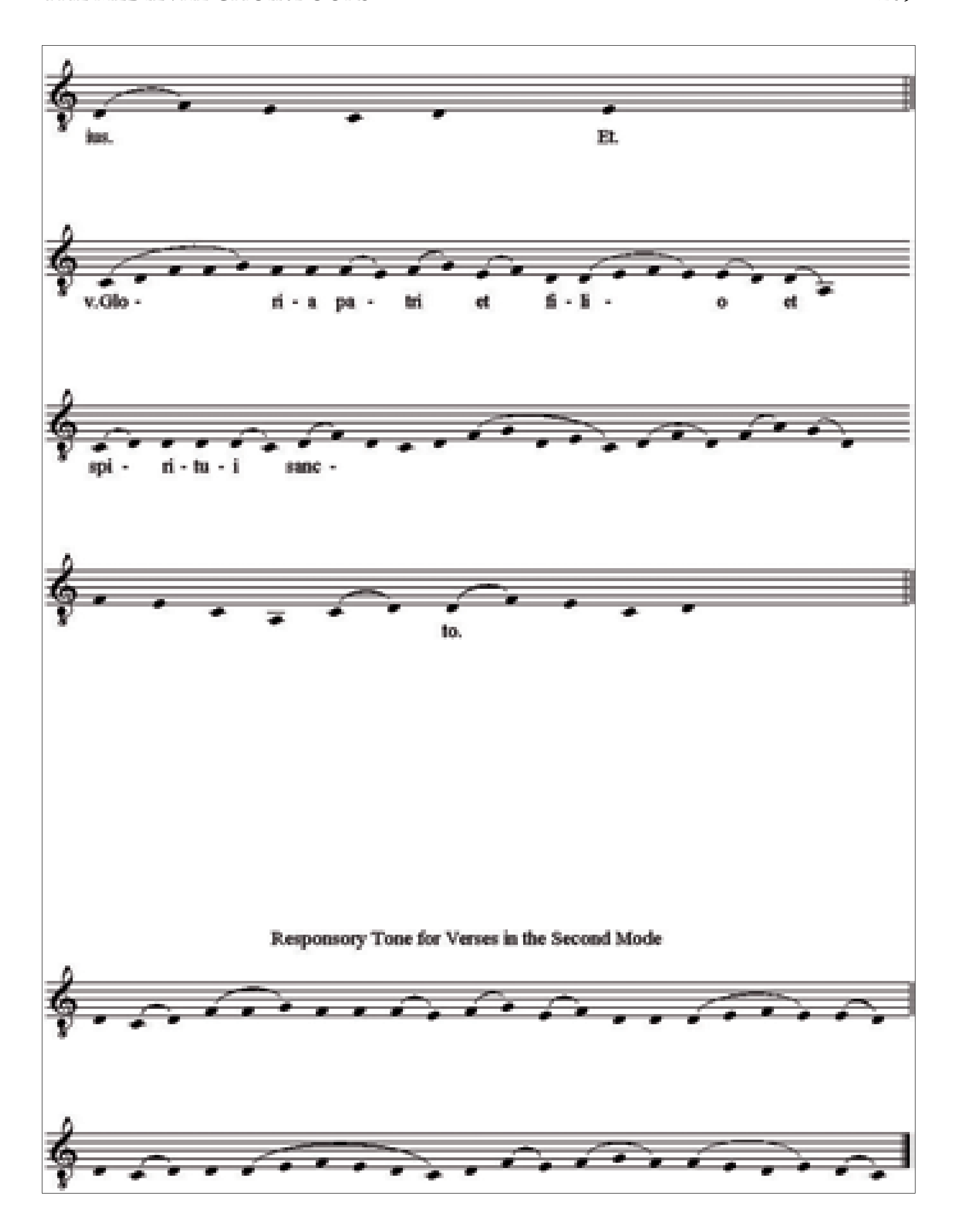
The text of this responsory is poetic but not rhymed: 'Stirps Yesse virgam produxit virgaque florem et super hunc florem requiescit spiritus almus. v. Virgo Dei genitrix virga est flos filius eius' 'The stem of Jesse produced a branch and the branch a flower and on this flower rested a kindly spirit. v. The virgin mother of God is the branch and the flower is her son'. Example 9 shows the music for this responsory from CarK1, page 202. Here the respond or first section ends on the final *d*; the chant emphasizes the lower range from a^{-1} to *a*, indicating that the piece should be in mode 2. The verse begins according to the prescribed tone for second mode, from *c* to median cadence on *d* at 'est'; the second half should normally follow the contours of the tone and end on *c*; a comparison of this verse with the formula shows that it digresses from the tone and ends, not on *c* but on *d*, the final of the mode. At 'flos' the melody descends to a^{-1}, thus exploiting the full range of the second mode.

Example 10: The responsory 'Stirps Aaron' from the office of St Anne.

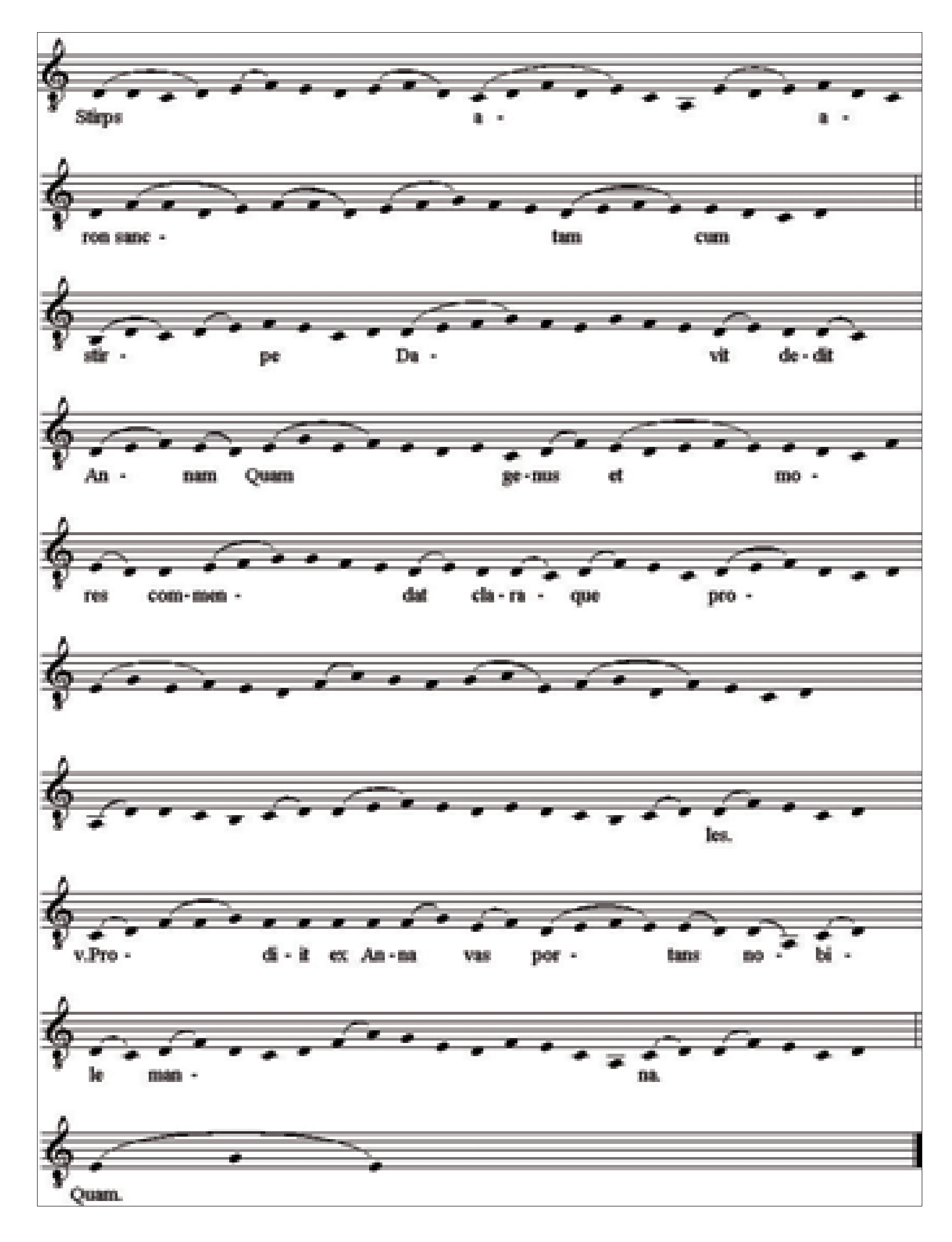
The name of Fulbert of Chartres no doubt gave considerable prestige to the responsory 'Stirps Jesse', so that it became the basis for another text in honour of Mary's mother, St Anne, 'Stirps Aaron'. We have seen earlier in our discussion of St Anne that later medieval writers tended to associate her with the priestly line of Aaron, thereby increasing her prestige and intercessory power. Thus the 'Stirps Aaron' chant occurs in a number of French breviaries and probably stems from Chartres itself. 'Stirps Aaron sanctam' is the second Matins responsory in CarK1 and CarK3. Example 10 shows the chant 'Stirps Aaron' in CarK1, page 98; a comparison between Examples 9 and 10 readily demonstrates that Example 10, 'Stirps Aaron', adapted the older melody, 'Stirps Jesse' of Example 9, to the newer text.



Example 9: The responsory ‘Stirps Jesse’ in CarK1, p. 202.

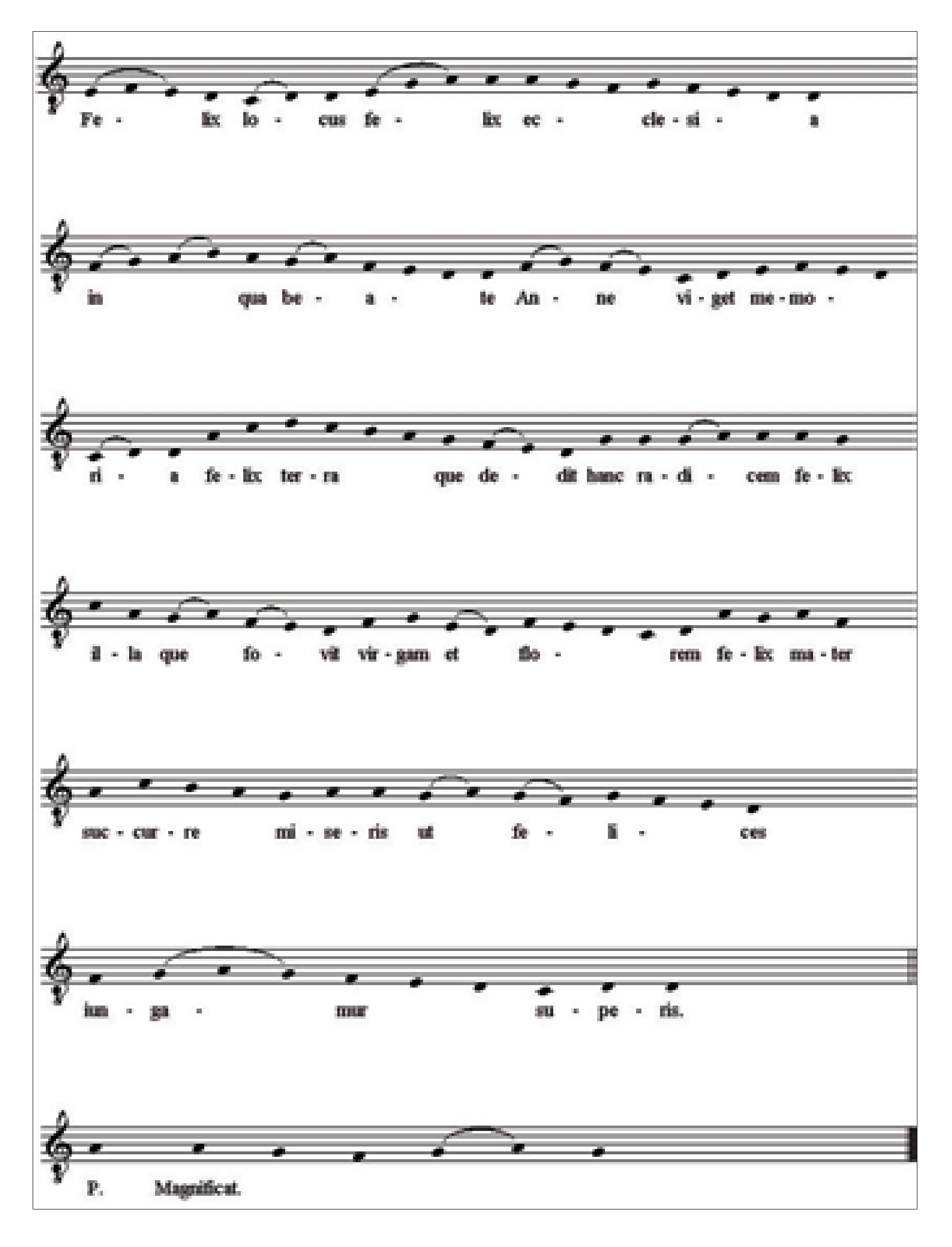


Example 9: The responsory 'Stirps Jesse' in CarK1, p. 202 continued.

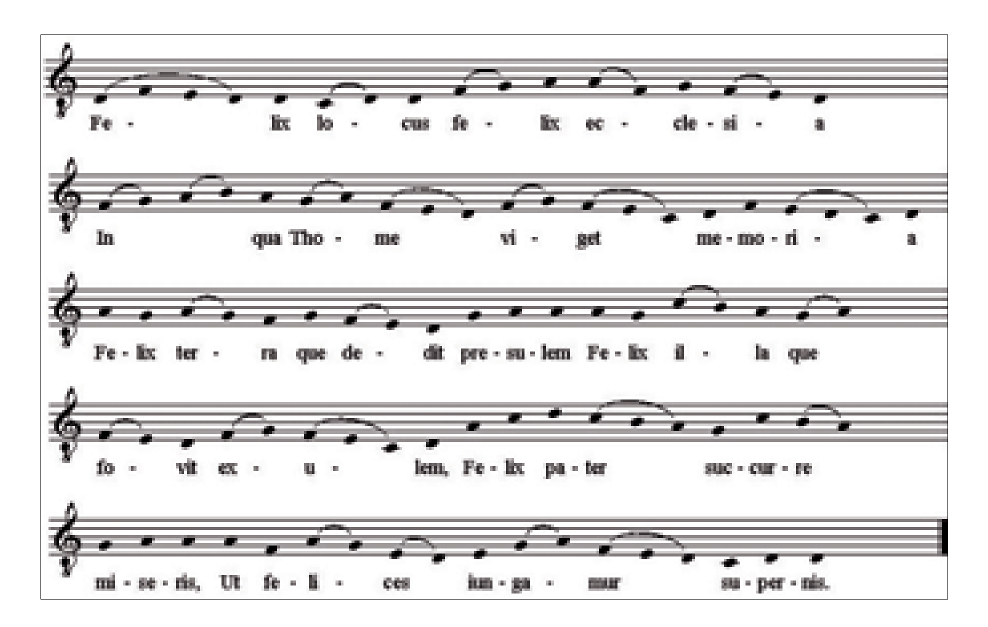


Example 10: The responsory 'Stirps Aaron' in CarK1, p. 98.

The text is as follows: 'Stirps Aaron sanctam / cum stirpe Davit dedit Annam. / Quam genus et mores/ commendat claraque proles. / v. Prodiit ex Anna / vas portans nobile manna' 'The branch of Aaron with the branch of David brought forth Saint Anne. Her extraordinary daughter clearly commends her nature and habits v. The vessel containing the noble manna came forth from Anne'. While the respond in 'Stirps Jesse' and 'Stirps Aaron' has twenty-eight syllables in both cases, the way the sense of the text unfolds under the chant melody is different in each one. A closer comparison of the two examples, however, points out a more fundamental difference, since 'Stirps Aaron' is rhymed while 'Stirps Jesse' is not. The rhyme scheme imposes a different structure on the new piece to accommodate its lexical divisions. Thus 'sanctam' rhymes with 'Annam' and 'mores' with 'proles', so that these clauses must be considered as musical entities, even though lexically 'sanctam' modifies 'Annam' at the end of the respond. Thus 'Stirps Jesse virgam produxit / virgaque florem / Et super hunc florem / requiescit spiritus almus' compares against 'Stirps Aaron sanctam / cum stirpe David / dedit Annam. Quam genus et mores / commendat claraque proles'. Thus for example the three words 'Stirps Aaron sanctam' compare against the four words of 'Stirps Jesse virgam produxit', or two words of 'Stirps Jesse' and 'virgam produxit', depending on one's interpretation of the text. The rhyme scheme virtually requires that one consider 'Stirps Aaron sanctam' as a unit, thus ending on *e*, equivalent to 'virgam' in the original as opposed to *d* at the end of 'Stirps Jesse'. Thus, in the process of adaptation, subtle changes in interpretation undoubtedly had to be made. The occasional differences in pitch between the two melodies probably reflect an effort by the composer/adaptor to accommodate the new poetic text. Similarly the rhyme scheme of the verse encourages us to consider 'prodiit ex Anna' as a single sense unit, since 'Anna' rhymes with 'manna'. From a musical point of view the first half of the verse should end on the *d* at 'portans' while lexically 'Anna' should receive more attention. In this verse the composer has changed the melody slightly in order to adapt it to the new text: thus the notes *g a g f f e* at 'Dei geni[-trix]' in the original have been reduced to a repeated *f* at '[prodi-] it ex An[-na]' in the later chant. Thus this process of adaptation, unlike chants in the Franciscan tradition, for example, requires a slight reshaping of the piece to accommodate its newer rhymed text.



Example 11a: The antiphon ‘Felix locus’ in <u>CarK1</u>, p. 107.



Example 11b: The antiphon 'Felix locus felix ecclesia' from the office of St Thomas of Canterbury in Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 369.

Example 11: The Magnificat antiphon 'Felix locus felix ecclesia' from the a) the office of St Anne and b) the office of St Thomas of Canterbury.

While the adaptation of 'Stirps Aaron' for St Anne from 'Stirps Jesse' for the Virgin Mary is a logical choice, the adaptation of 'Felix locus felix ecclesia' from the office of St Thomas of Canterbury into the office of St Anne is much more surprising, especially since 'Felix locus' does not appear in the Kraków Carmelite version of the St Thomas office. Thus the adaptation had to have been part of an earlier Prague tradition which the Carmelites simply adopted when they included the entire office in CarK1 and CarK3. Our transcription of the St Thomas version of 'Felix locus, felix ecclesia' is copied from the chant in the Lewes Cluniac Noted Breviary/Missal, now MS CFW 369, as transcribed by Kay Slocum.[335] The text is 'Felix locus, felix ecclesia, In qua Thome viget memoria, Felix terra, que dedit presulem, Felix illa, que fovit exulem, Felix pater, succurre miseris, Ut felices iungamur superis' with her translation, 'Blessed place, blessed church In which the memory of Thomas flourishes! Blessed the land which produced the bishop! Blessed the land that cherished the exile! O

[335] Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket*, p. 208.

blessed father, hasten to help us sufferers, So that we, blessed, may be joined to those above'.[336]

The texts of both versions compare as follows:

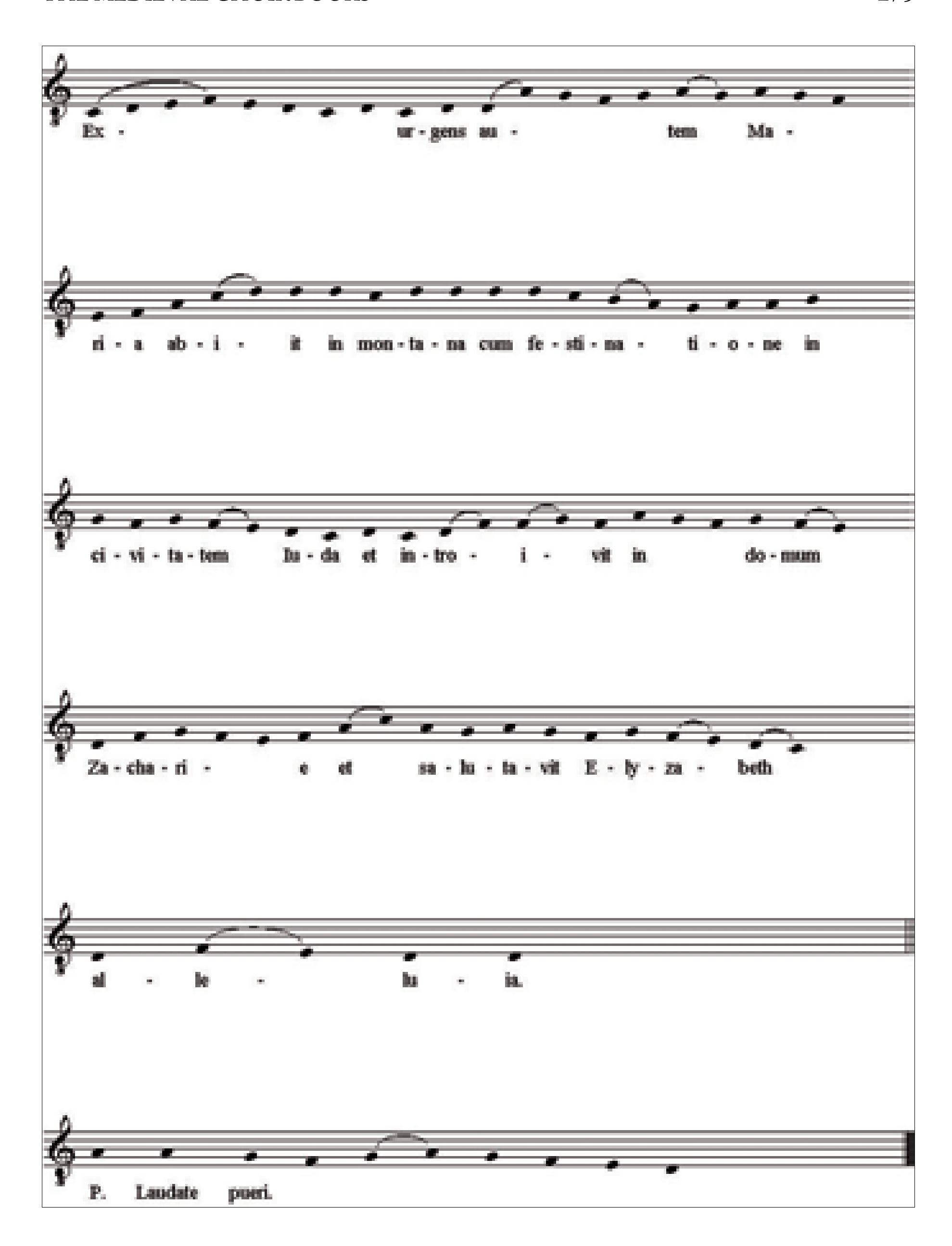
Felix locus felix ecclesia	Felis locus felix ecclesia
In qua beate Anne viget memoria	In qua Thome viget memoria
Felix terra que dedit hanc radicem	Felix terra que dedit presulem
Felix illa qua fovit virgam et florem	Felix illa que fovit exulem
Felix mater succurre miseris	Felix pater succurre miseris
Ut felices iungamur supernis.	Ut felices iungamur supernis.

Lines 2 and 4 add syllables to the St Anne text from that of St Thomas. Musically the St Anne version is somewhat more florid than the St Thomas version, partly due to these added syllables of text. Curiously the rising *a c d c b a* figure at 'felix terra' in line 3 of the St Anne piece occurs at 'felix pater' in the Thomas version and the *a g a (g) f* figure at 'felix terra' in the Thomas version is used at 'felix mater' in the Anne antiphon. Many of the altered words in the Anne text, such as 'radicem', 'virgam', and 'florem' recall the 'Stirps Jesse' text which emphases the root, shoot, and flower symbolism Thus in this antiphon much of the vocabulary once applied by Fulbert to the Virgin Mary is now extended to her mother.

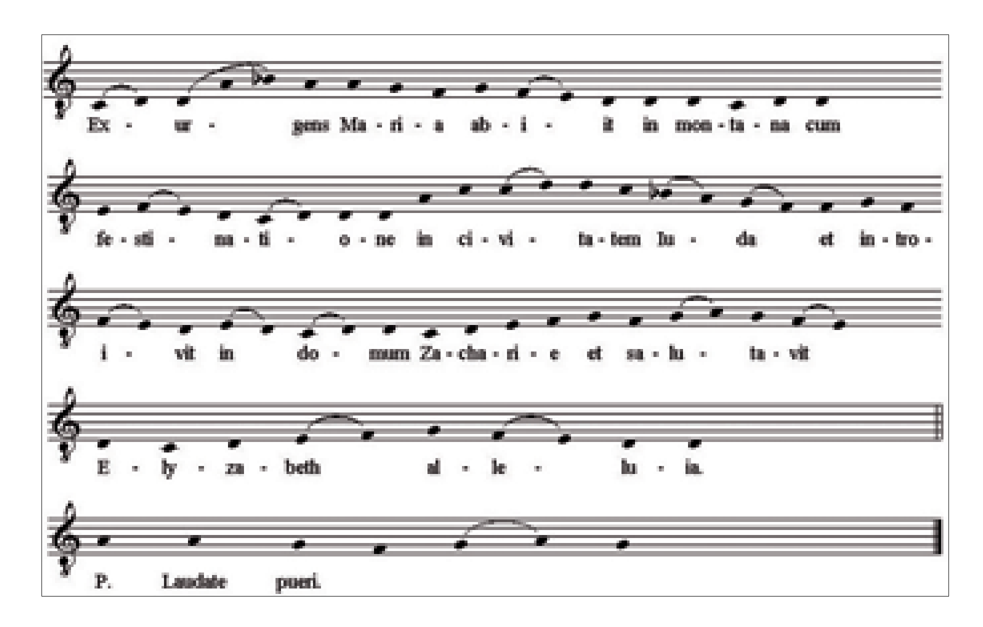
Example 12: The antiphon 'Exurgens autem Maria' from the office of the Visitation in a) Kraków, MS 1, CarK1 and b) Mainz, Dom- und Diőzesanmuseum, codex C (CarMC).

Apart from the added word 'autem' in CarK1 the text is the same in both versions. We have shown in Part III that for this office, only partially preserved in CarK1 and CarK3, a comparison with texts from CarMC proved invaluable. Despite the similarity of texts, however, the musical traditions are quite distinct Thus for example while both these antiphons are in mode 1, their melodic contours are entirely different. The Mainz antiphonal CarMC was made in the early 1430s; while many of its chants are consistent with the Kraków manuscripts of 1397, this office uses the same texts but applies entirely different melodies to them.

[336] Slocum, *Liturgies in Honour of Thomas Becket*, p. 208.



Example 12a: The antiphon 'Exurgens autem Maria' in CarK1, p. 77.



Example 12b: The antiphon ‘Exurgens Maria’ in CarMC, fol. 196.

Example 13: The responsory ‘En dilectus’ from the office of the Visitation in A) Kraków, MS 3 (CarK3) and B) Mainz, Dom- und Diőzesanmuseum, codex C (CarMC).

The responsory ‘En dilectus’ from the Visitation office is particularly interesting since it survives only in an incomplete format in CarK3; thus a comparison with the complete version in CarMC enables us to ascertain which piece it is and then to make some comparisons between the two examples. Even though both versions feature *d* as the final, the Kraków example features a range of *d* to d^1 or mode 1, while the Mainz version clearly features the lower range, with a descent to the lower a^{-1} in both the respond and the verse, thus establishing the piece in mode 2 rather than in mode 1. In CarMC the verse tone follows the standard opening for the 2nd mode, but in the second half digresses from it and ends on the *d* final of the mode rather than on *c*, the customary ending for the verse tone. While we have discussed the association between this office and John of Jenstein in Part III, what is particularly interesting here is the variety of music to accompany a standard text, and also, that the Mainz Carmelites melodically operated completely independently from their Kraków (and Prague) counterparts.



Example 13a: The (incomplete) responsory 'En dilectus' in CarK3, fol. 111.



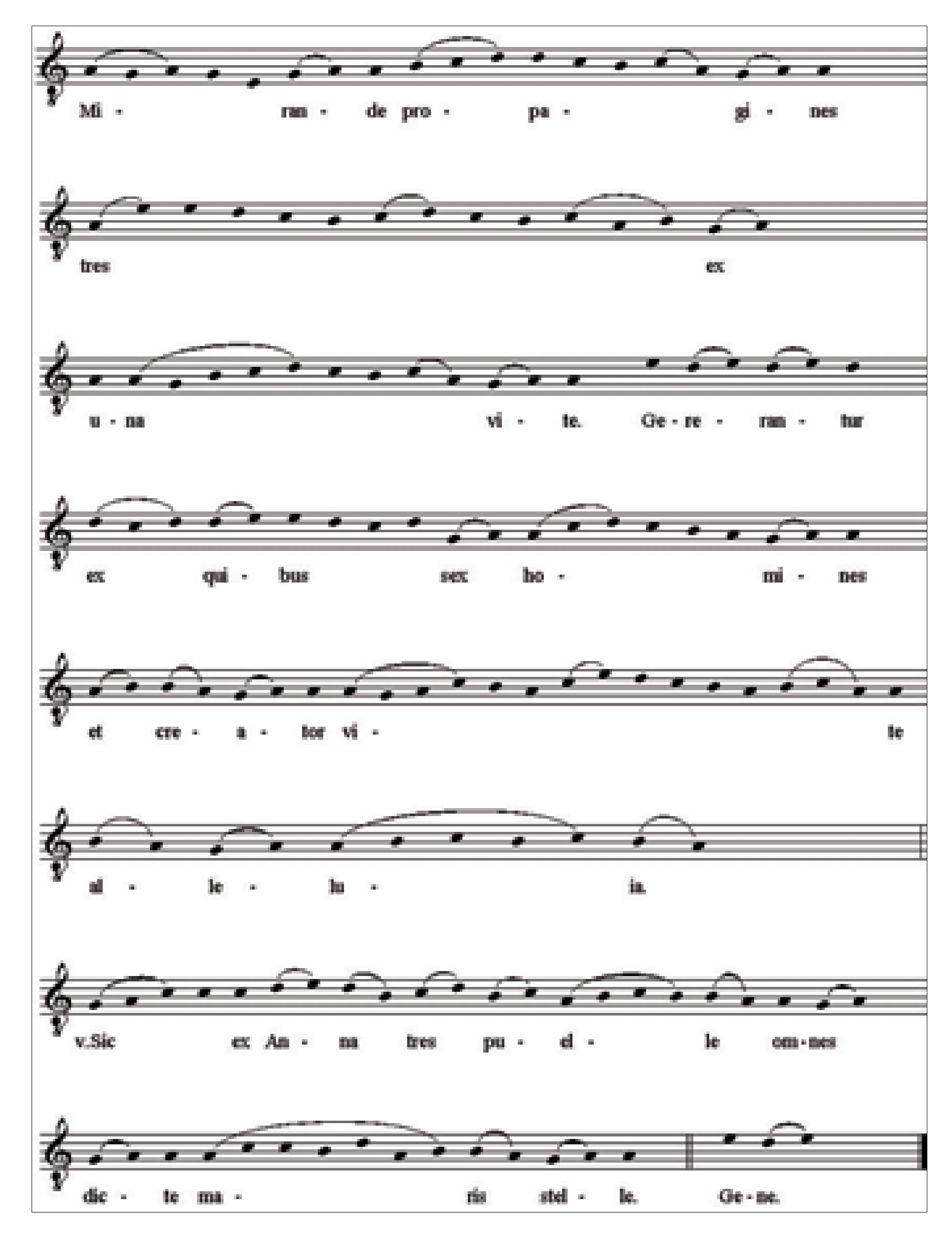
Example 13b: The responsory 'En dilectus meus' in CarMC, fol. 203.

Example 14: The responsory 'Mirande propagines' from the office of the Three Marys in CarK3, folio 91^{v} (Example 14a) and in Mainz, Codex E [CarME], folio 495 (Example 14b).

The preceding discussion of 'En dilectus' becomes more intriguing when we examine 'Mirande propagines' from the office of the Three Marys, since a comparison of the two pieces in the Mainz Carmelite tradition shows that they basically follow the same melody. Since the Three Marys version was probably the older melody, having a longer history in the Carmelite tradition than the Visitation feast, 'Mirande propagines' was probably adapted to form 'En dilectus', rather than the reverse procedure. The CarK3 version of this Three Marys chant is about thirty years later than the Mainz version, so that the Mainz version probably influenced this chant also. The CarK3 version is largely the same as that in CarME, but transposed a fifth higher. One important difference between the two versions is that the text 'Generantur procreantur ex quibus sex homines' of CarME has been abbreviated in CarK3 to read 'Generantur ex quibus sex homines', and the music adjusted accordingly. Thus a comparison of these two versions shows that the music accompanying 'Generantur' in CarK3 is a much abbreviated version of the music for 'Generantur procreantur' in CarME, suggesting that the Kraków piece is a simplified version of the Mainz chant, perhaps copied from an examplar similar to it. It therefore seems that the CarME Three Marys chant 'Mirande propagines' influenced both the Visitation chant 'En dilectus' in the Mainz tradition and the later CarK3 version of 'Mirande propagines'.

Example 15: The responsory 'Tu qui dealbatus' from the office of Our Lady of the Snows in Kraków, MS 1 (CarK1).

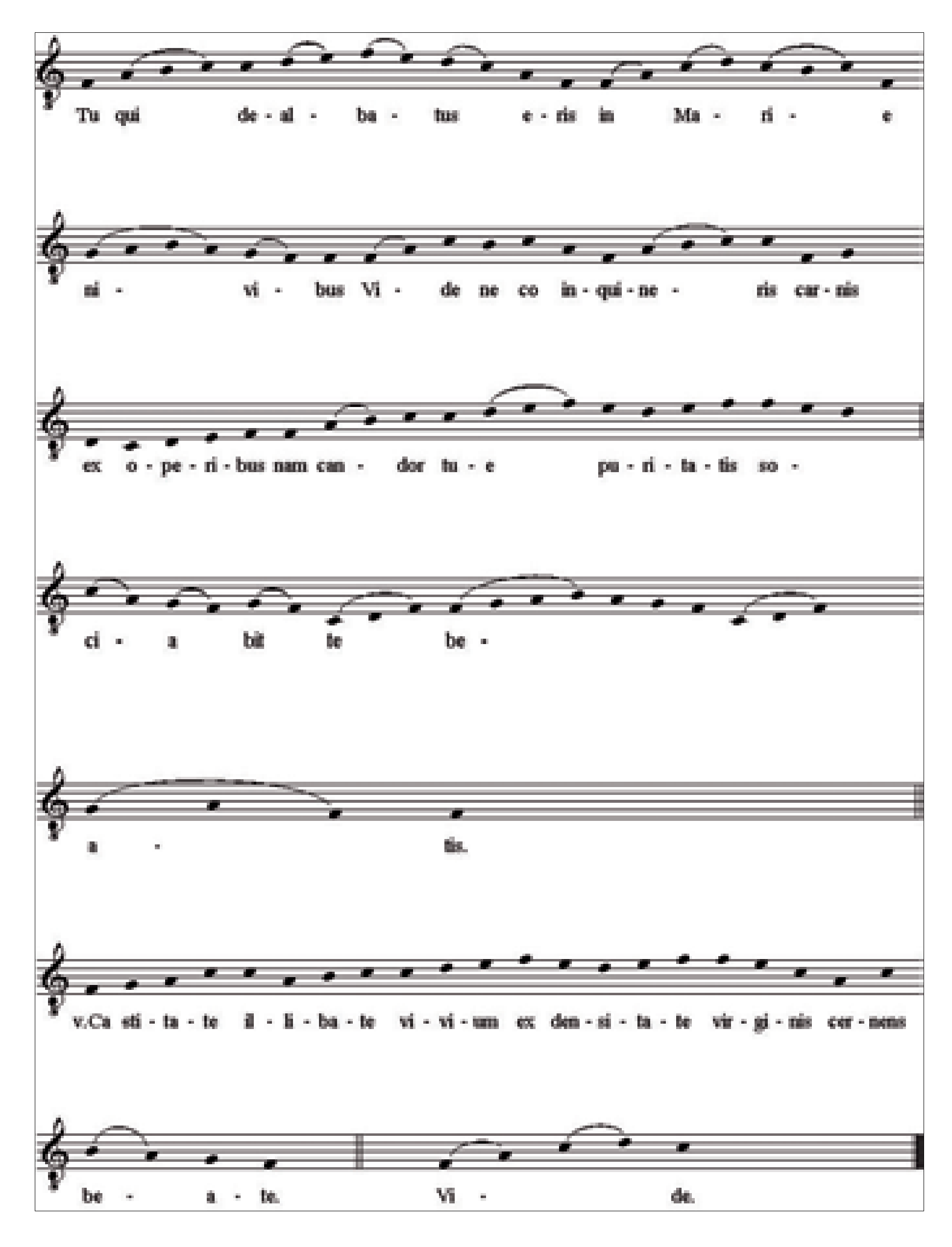
The responsory 'Tu qui dealbatus' is interesting because it occurs so rarely in later medieval manuscripts, so that its presence, like so many other chants for the office of Our Lady of the Snows, is significant: it preserves chant texts and melodies which are generally exceedingly rare in the repertory. In this fifth mode chant predictably both the respond and verse end on the *f* final of the mode and both parts of the responsory exploit the full range of fifth mode, *f* to f^1. The respond exploits the range of both the authentic and plagal instances of the *f* mode, so that in addition to rising to f^1, the top of the fifth mode range, it also descends to *c*, the bottom of the sixth mode range. The verse rises to f^1 without descending to *c*, suggesting that the piece is in mode 5 rather than mode 6.



Example 14a: The responsory 'Mirande propagines' in CarK3, fol. 91v.



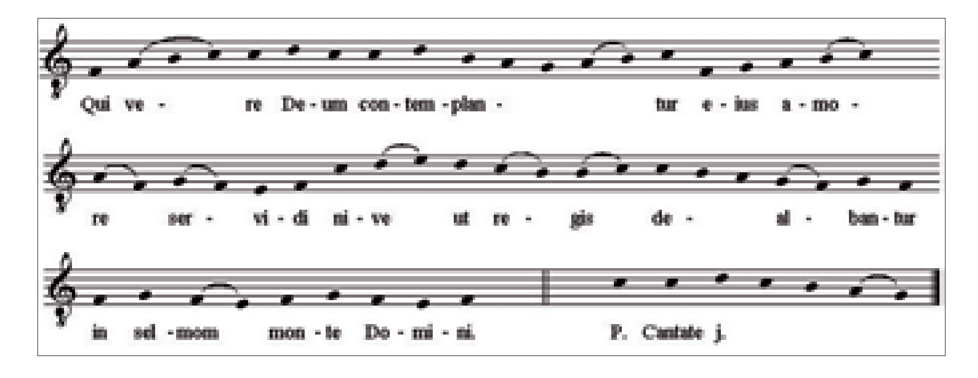
Example 14b: The responsory 'Mirande propagines' in CarME, fol. 495.



Example 15: The responsory 'Tu qui dealbatus' in CarK1, p. 115.

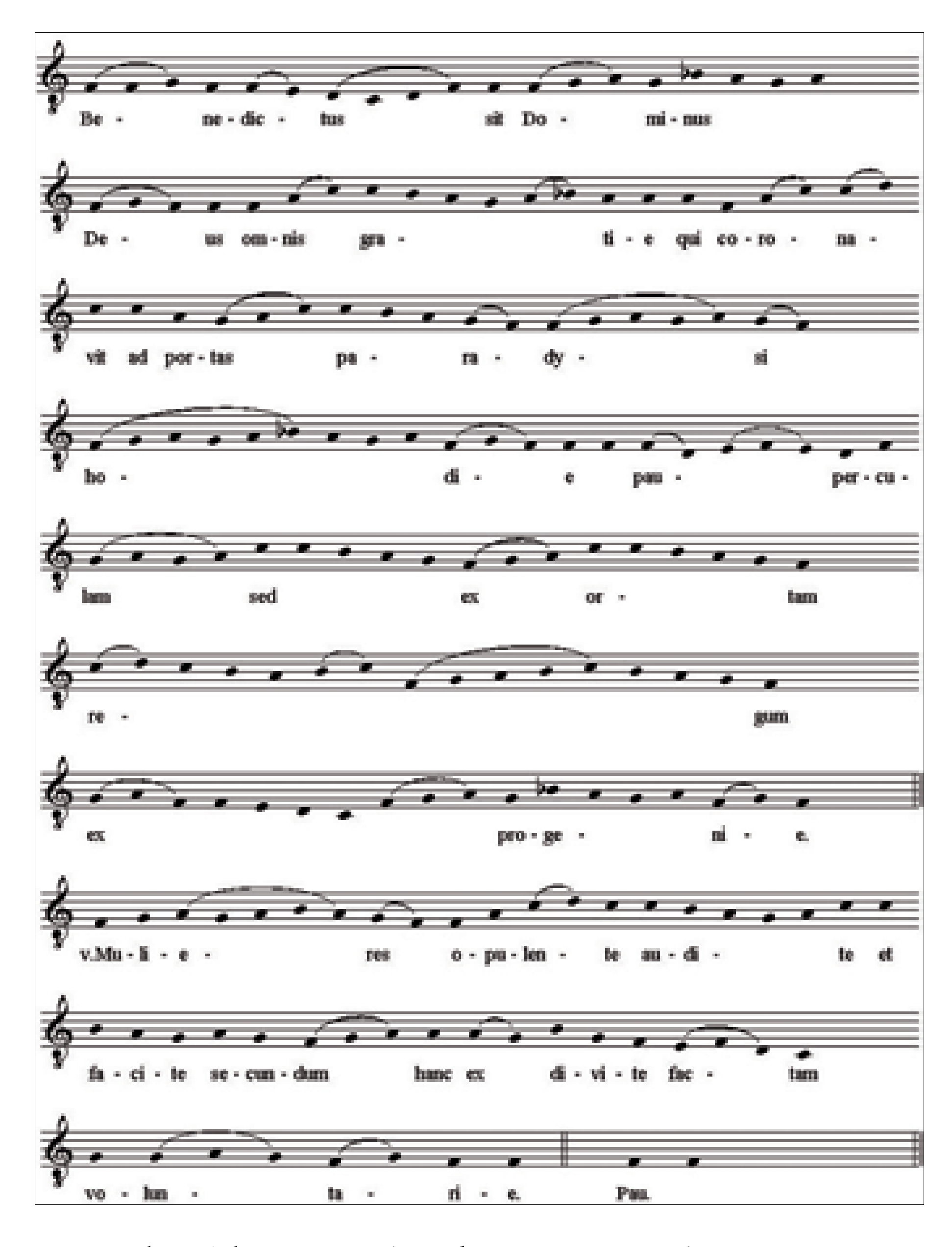
Example 16: The antiphon 'Qui vere Deum' from the office of Our Lady of the Snows in Kraków, MS 1 (CarK1).

In Table 9 we listed the antiphon 'Qui vere Deum' as either in mode 5 or mode 7, based on the correspondence between its final and range and the termination formula or *differentia* assigned to it. Thus the piece ends on final *f* with a range corresponding to the fifth mode, that is, from *e* to e^1. However, a piece in fifth mode would normally include a *b-flat*, which is never used here, although the friars chanting the piece may simply have sung *b* as *b-flat*. The range for fifth mode normally should extend from *f* to f^1 rather than from *e* to e^1. The *differentia*, or formula for verses for the psalm which the antiphon frames, is *c c d c b a g*, which does not correspond to any such formula in standard use. If the *differentia* began on *d* and ended on *a*, however, it would be a standard formula for the seventh mode. If the entire antiphon were raised by a note, thus beginning on *g* and ending on *g*, with a range extending upwards to *f* rather than *e*, it would fit much better into the established pattern of notes for the seventh mode than it possibly can for a fifth mode antiphon. For this reason, this antiphon is probably the result of a scribal error. It would be interesting to know if the friars corrected the mistake in performance or sang the version as written. While a large amount of scholarly material has been written concerning oral tradition and performance in early chant,[337] one wonders if such spontaneous correction was used in the face of a clear (and erroneous) written exemplar.

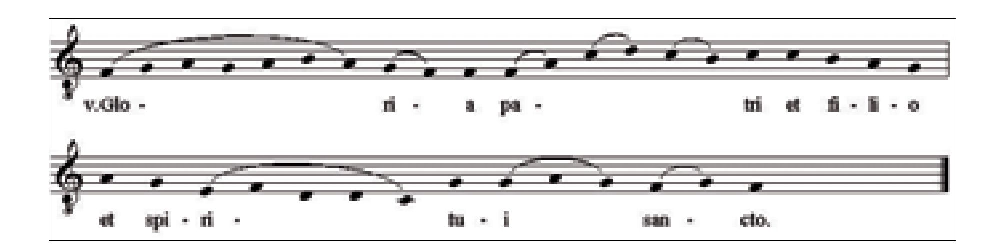


Example 16: The antiphon 'Qui vere Deum' in CarK1, p. 116.

[337] Boynton's article, 'Orality', pp. 99–167 provides useful bibliographical materials on the subject.



Example 17: The responsary ‘Benedictus sit Domininus’ in CarK1, p. 339.



Example 17: The responsary 'Benedictus sit Domininus' in CarK1, p. 339 continued.

Example 17: The antiphon 'Benedictus sit Dominus' from the office of St Elizabeth.

The responsory 'Benedictus sit Dominus', used to celebrate the feast of St Elizabeth in CarK1, is significant for not being part of either the 'Gaudeat Hungaria' or 'Letare Germania' office of St Elizabeth published by Barbara Haggh,[338] based on manuscripts from Cambrai cathedral.[339] A mode 6 piece, it predictably exploits the lower range of the *f* mode, extending from *c* to d^1 in the respond and also in the verse. The absence of this piece in Barbara Haggh's edition suggests that local sources may have influenced the Prague Carmelites who prepared this manuscript.

Example 18: The antiphon 'Cornu salutis hodie', a) from the office of St Elizabeth in Kraków, Carmelite monastery, MS 1 (CarK1) and b) from the office of the Presentation of Mary in Mainz, Dom- und Diőzesanmuseum, Codex D, CarMD.

While these two Benedictus antiphons begin with the same words, their texts are not uniform throughout, although the earlier version of CarK1 perhaps influenced the later verison of CarMD, especially since the office of St Elizabeth was well established before that of the Presentation. This is particularly true for the Mainz tradition where most of the Presentation chants were later compositions made by applying music from antiphons and responsories in established offices to new texts in honour of the Presentation;

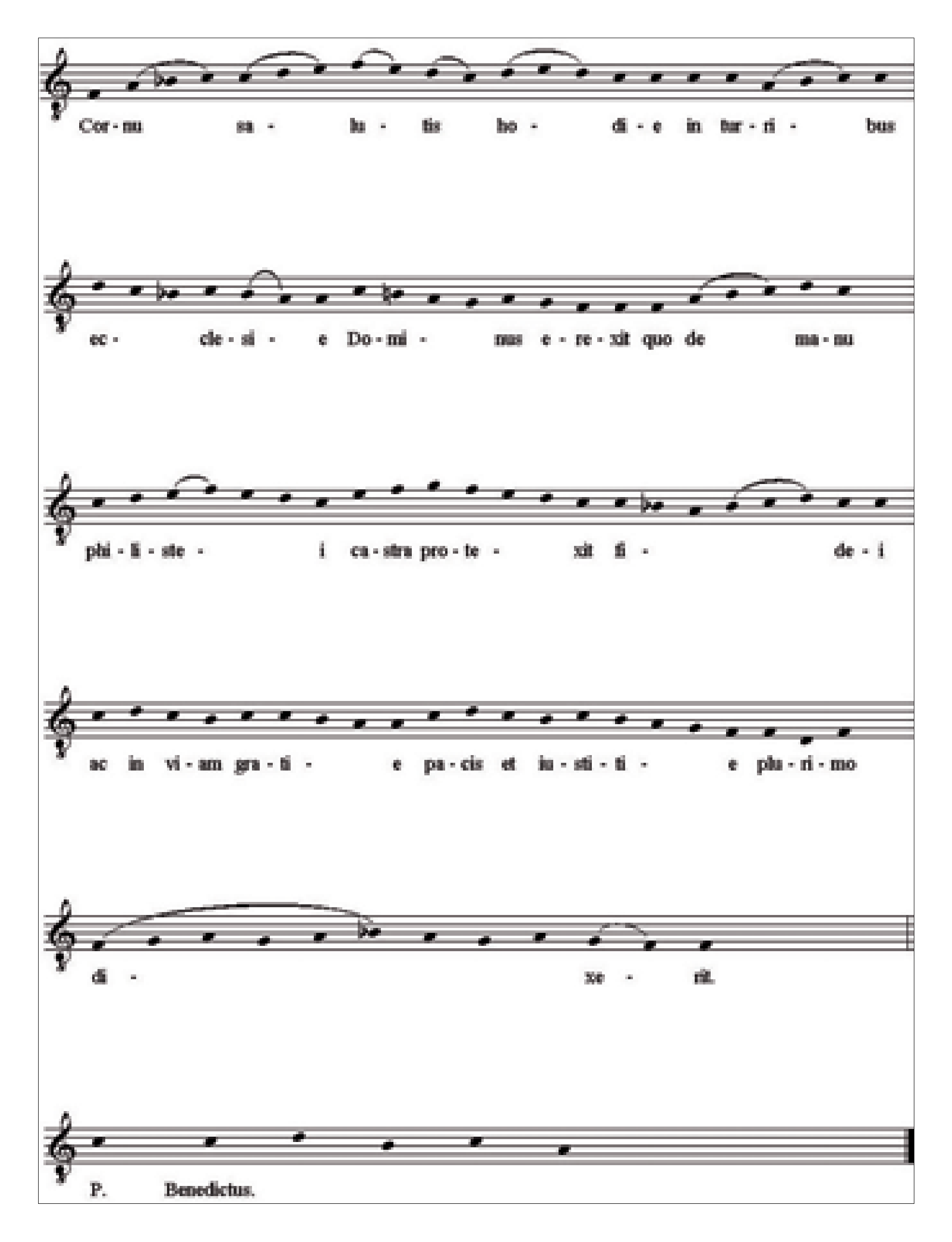
[338] *Two Offices for St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, ed. by Barbara Haggh.

[339] Haggh's principal source is Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, MS 38; other sources she uses are Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, IV 472, Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, MSS 33–35 and Cambrai, Médiathèque Municipale, MS 91; these manuscripts are discussed on pp. ix–xi of *Two Offices for St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, ed. by Barbara Haggh.

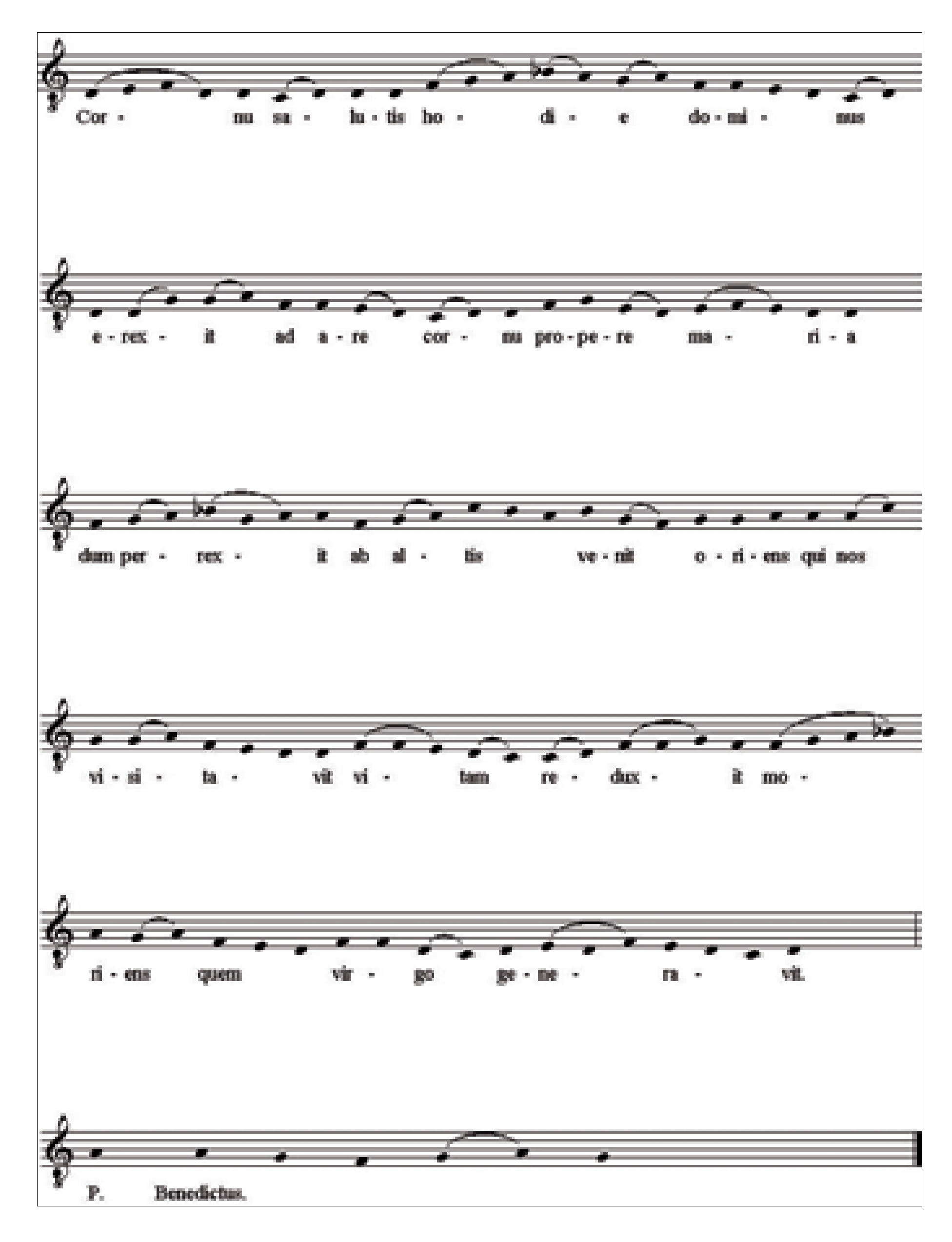
this adaptation process was carried out either by the local Carmelites or by earlier redactors. Thus the texts compare as follows:

CarK1	CarMD
Cornu salutis hodie	Cornu salutis hodie
in turribus ecclesie	
Dominus erexit	Dominus erexit
quo de manu philistei	ad are cornu propere
castra protexit fidei	Maria dum perrexit
ac in viam gratie	ab altis venit oriens
pacis et iustitie	qui nos visitavit
plurimo dixerit.	vitam reduxit moriens
	quem virgo generavit.

The common textual elements here are the opening ‘Cornus salutis hodie’ and ‘Dominus erexit’, around which both antiphon texts are constructed. The words ‘hodie’ and ‘erexit’ contribute extensively to the rhyme scheme in both instances, each of which is constructed separately. The CarK1 example is in mode 5, with final on *f* and a range predictably exploiting the mode’s full range, extending from *d* to g^1; the CarMD version in mode 1 is rather conservative, with a final on *d* and a range from *c* to c^1. This ‘Cornu salutis hodie’ chant is important for shedding light on the adaptation of a chant text in one office for use in another, with enough elements in common to suggest the influence of one piece on the other and yet with most of the text and all of the music newly composed, thus creating an entirely new piece.



Example 18a: The antiphon 'Cornu salutis' in CarK1, p. 351.



Example 18b: The antiphon ‘Cornu salutis’ in CarMD, fol. 161v.

Part V: Conclusions

Part I of this chapter situated the medieval liturgical manuscripts within the larger collection of manuscripts and books that the Kraków Carmelites progressively developed from 1397 through the nineteenth century. The dedicatory colophon in the Wrocław antiphonal demonstrated both the importance of liturgy for the Prague Carmelites and the role of specific Carmelites in guaranteeing a stable liturgical tradition in the convent. The eighteenth-century revisions guaranteed the continuing use of these manuscripts through the eighteenth and probably nineteenth centuries, although necessarily compromising some of their chants in the adaptation process. These manuscripts provided complete rubrics, chant texts, and music for all the incipits listed in Sibert's ordinal, thereby guaranteeing that the standardized Carmelite liturgy would be observed in meticulous detail in the Kraków convent. Part II focused on the organization of the manuscripts according to the temporal cycle, comparing the Carmelite series of chants for selected occasions against Franciscan, Holy Sepulchre, and Kraków diocesan usage while also making reference to Dominican and Roman practices to show that the Carmelite liturgy was different from all of them. Two specific liturgical occasions, the dedication of a church and the commemoration of the resurrection, show the distinctiveness of the Carmelite tradition. Liturgies for the common of saints also demonstrate that Carmelite practice differed from other traditions. The most distinctive aspect of the Carmelite liturgy is, however, its sanctoral cycle, as shown by our comparison of the calendar from the ordinal of Sibert de Beka against the Holy Sepulchre tradition, Kraków diocesan usage and the liturgies of the other mendicant orders, the Franciscans and Dominicans. Part III then discussed the important feasts of the Carmelite liturgy and the importance of metrical and/or rhymed offices, including two liturgies for specifically Bohemian saints. Part IV examined the music of selected chants from the Carmelite tradition that were rarely or never used elsewhere and chants of particular musical interest, either in their own right or in relation to other chants.

The detailed study of these manuscripts from a liturgical and musical point of view enables us to arrive at some conclusions concerning the medieval Carmelite liturgy as practised in Kraków.

Liturgical

From a liturgical point of view these six medieval manuscripts show how the medieval liturgy was rendered by the Kraków Carmelites. Despite their close ties to the townspeople of Kraków and their active involvement with their shrine church of Our Lady on the Sands, the Carmelite celebration of the Divine Office adhered strongly to the order's own tradition as established by Sibert de Beka in 1312 and remained impervious to local diocesan practices. While graduals or other books for the Mass have not survived, the evidence of the antiphonals for the Divine Office suggests that a comparable situation must have applied to the Mass as well.

In this chapter we have demonstrated that for the liturgical year the Carmelite cycle of feasts followed the order's own practices rather than those from any external source. Franciscan or Dominican influences remained minimal, despite the size and prestige of their local convents, prominently situated within the city walls of Kraków. The Carmelites continued to number their Sundays after Trinity rather than after Pentecost, to celebrate the virtually unique feast of the Commemoration of the Resurrection on the last Sunday of the year and to follow distinctive chants for the dedication of a church, all of which rendered their temporal cycle different from practices in the other churches of the town and, in the process, enabled the Carmelites to ensure the 'flourishing of divine worship' as indicated in the initial confirmation bull of Boniface IX.

Liturgies for the saints in these six manuscripts, many with metrical or rhymed offices, established the distinctiveness of the Carmelite liturgical rite, which now faithfully preserved feasts from the Holy Sepulchre rite in a place far removed from the tomb of the Lord and the liturgy of the Latin Kingdom. Included among the special feasts observed by the Kraków Carmelites were the Transfiguration, recalling both the place of Mount Tabor in the Holy Land and the personages of Moses and Elijah, the Holy Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, honouring as Catholic saints three devout Jewish holy men who never received Christian baptism, St Cleophas, the disciple to whom the Lord himself explained His resurrection on the road to Emmaus and St Mary Magdalene, honouring Mary's role as the first witness to the resurrection. In all these feasts the Carmelites preserved the Holy Sepulchre tradition of honouring the resurrection of the Lord, whose tomb and its veneration formed the basis for the rite in the first place. This emphasis on feasts honouring the resurrection gave a positive thrust to their liturgical year and to their entire spiritual life, an

optimism that they willingly shared with any of the people of Kraków who chose to attend their liturgical services.

The Marian feasts in the Carmelite liturgy both enhanced its distinctiveness and gave expression to the special relationship that the Carmelites developed with her; this Marian identity was particularly important since it provided the impetus for the friars to operate and promote a local Marian shrine church and attend to the spiritual (and probably material) needs of the faithful who patronized it. As part of this mendicant activity they willingly embraced the recently introduced feasts of the Visitation and Our Lady of the Snows, each of which had a special importance for their convents in Kraków and Prague. Similarly they were surely the only convent in the area to celebrate the feast of the Three Marys, honouring the sisters of the Virgin Mary, while their ready adoption of new chants in honour of St Anne paralleled their liturgical activity in other centres and their patronage of artistic works in her honour.

Musical

These manuscripts are particularly valuable since they provide a complete set of chants for celebrating the medieval Carmelite liturgy. As the CANTUS index demonstrates, many of these melodies are the same between Mainz and Kraków sources, probably because both sets of manuscripts were composed within the two German Carmelite provinces. Chants in the Kraków Carmelite manuscripts are generally closer to those from Mainz than they are to Florence, even though the Florence codices date from approximately the same time as the Prague/Kraków manuscripts, while those of Mainz were written some thirty-five years later.

An additional and perhaps even more important value of these medieval manuscripts lies in their preservation of a wide variety of rhymed offices, including liturgies which honour the Bohemian saints Ludmila and Wenceslaus and those that honour the Virgin Mary, especially the Visitation, Our Lady of the Snows, her sisters, Mary Cleophas and Mary Salome, and her mother, St Anne. While the office of the Three Marys has already been published from Carmelite manuscripts in Mainz and Florence, and while the office of St Ludmila has already been studied, the offices of St Anne and Our Lady of the Snows as presented here generally are known only through the publication of their texts, not all of which agree with the Carmelite version. In addition, these manuscripts include the John of Jenstein office of the Visitation and offer a direct link between its original use in Prague and its eventual transmission to

other Carmelite centres such as Mainz. These Kraków Carmelite offices are not only a significant part of this tradition, but valuable examples of otherwise rare or even unknown liturgies in honour of the Virgin Mary and her mother. The widespread destruction of liturgical manuscripts in Prague during the Hussite wars of the early fifteenth century makes these Kraków manuscripts all the more valuable, since they preserve liturgical offices from Prague that are otherwise lost or at least very rare in extant Bohemian manuscripts. The impressive presentation of the original three manuscripts done in Prague for use in Kraków, including the ornate dedicatory page, several historiated initials and carefully fashioned text and music, makes one wonder about the beauty of script and image in the Prague Carmelite manuscripts, all of which have apparently been lost. Having discussed the importance of this medieval Carmelite tradition, it remains for us to examine how the medieval liturgy of the Kraków Carmelites was both preserved and further developed after the changes legislated by the Council of Trent.

Chapter 4

Crossing the Boundary: The Carmelite Liturgy After the Council of Trent

In Chapter 3 we showed the distinctiveness of the medieval Carmelite liturgy, which preserved the customs and feasts from the Latin Kingdom rite of the Holy Sepulchre, then progressively incorporated new liturgies, usually relating to the Virgin Mary, into their rite during the course of the fourteenth century. The Carmelites thus created a proper Carmelite rite, now distinct from the parent liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre and markedly different from the diocesan usage of the neighbouring churches in Kraków and in all the other cities where the Carmelites had a convent. It now remains for us to investigate the impact of the Council of Trent and its reforms upon this distinctive Carmelite liturgy. Fortunately, a sufficient number of early-modern manuscripts from Kraków have survived to enable us to understand how the Carmelites 'crossed the boundary' liturgically from the medieval liturgy into the early-modern era. We will discuss this transition in three parts. Part I, The Tridentine Liturgical Books, discusses 1) the Council of Trent and the Carmelite liturgical reform; 2) the collection of Tridentine Carmelite choir books; 3) the graduals and the chants for Mass; 4) the antiphonals and the chants for the Divine Office; and 5) other liturgical books and manuscripts. Part II, The Tridentine Carmelite Liturgy, 1) compares three occasions in the temporal cycle between Carmelite and Roman practice; then 2) discusses the sanctoral cycle in terms of a) the celebration of established feasts, including St Mary Magdalene, St Anne, the Transfiguration, and several smaller feasts; b) the celebration of feasts in honour of the Virgin Mary; c) new proper Carmelite feasts introduced before the Council of Trent but only surviving in Tridentine manuscripts; d) Swedish and Polish feasts; and e) proper Carmelite feasts. Part III compares selected antiphons and responsories from the medieval and Tridentine traditions and discusses selected pieces from the new proper offices.

Part IV offers some conclusions about the Tridentine Carmelite liturgy in Kraków.

Part I: The Tridentine Liturgical Books

The Council of Trent and the Carmelite Liturgical Reform

The Council of Trent, held in twenty-five sessions in its three meetings over eighteen years, 1545–63,[1] thoroughly revised virtually every aspect of church life in the wake of the Protestant reformation and its devastating effect on Catholicism.[2] Included in this revision was the imposition of the Roman rite upon the entire Church and the purging of all liturgical elements that were deemed unsuitable. Despite these ambitious goals, the Council documents themselves say very little about liturgical practices, although much more discussion seems actually to have taken place than appears in the documents. The only specific reference to music comes in the *Decree on things to be observed and avoided in celebrating Mass*:

> Ab ecclesiis vero musicas eas, ubi sive organo sive cantu lascivum aut impurum aliquid miscetur, item saeculares omnes actiones, vana atque adeo profana colloquia, deambulationes, strepitus, clamores arceant, ut domus Dei vere domus orationis esse videatur ac dici possit.
>
> And they should keep out of their churches the kind of music in which a base or suggestive element is introduced into the organ playing or singing, and similarly all worldly activities, empty and secular conversation, walking about, noises and cries, so that the house of God may truly be called and be seen to be a house of prayer.[3]

[1] The meetings were held from 13 December 1545 to 16 February 1548, 1 May 1551 to 28 April 1552, and 18 January 1563 to 4 December 1563. For a summary discussion of the Council see Hubert Jedin, 'Trent, Council of', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIV, 271–78. Hubert Jedin has discussed the council and its sessions in much greater detail in *A History of the Council of Trent*, trans. from the German by Dom Ernest Graf, O.S.B., 2 vols (St Louis: Herder, 1957). For a discussion of Jedin's work see John O'Malley, S.J., *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

[2] The implications of the Council of Trent for church music are addressed in Boyce, 'Singing a New Song', pp. 137–59.

[3] *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. by Norman Tanner, S.J., 2 vols (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990), II, 737.

Thus, for instance, any polyphony which obscured the text or seemed too intricate to lead to proper spiritual meditation was suspect; this was especially the case if the polyphony was based on a secular tune such as the popular *L'homme armé*[4] melody which substituted for the stable chant melody, known as the *cantus firmus*, often used in the tenor or in another of the lower voice parts in Renaissance Masses. Chant melodies were supposed to accommodate themselves to the inflections of the text, now interpreted according to humanistic principles which generally stressed the penultimate syllable of the word;[5] as a result, melismas, that is, groups of notes over a single syllable, often had to be located on the penultimate syllable or whatever syllable received the metrical accent rather than on the last syllable of a word. It is difficult to assess the degree to which the Carmelites complied with this directive, since such melismas are best illustrated in the great responsories of Matins, while the contents of the later Kraków Carmelite choir books are normally limited to antiphons. Tridentine choir books illustrate this humanistic pronunciation by placing a dot after a stressed syllable, followed by a lozenge-shaped note for the unstressed syllable that follows. As we shall see in Part III, some of the later Kraków manuscripts observe this practice while others do not.

In response to canon 25 of the Council of Trent calling for a revision of the missal and breviary, standardized books were printed for those orders and dioceses who were obliged to accept the Roman rite. Thus Pope Pius V imposed the Roman rite on the universal church when he promulgated the reformed breviary[6] in his bull *Quod a nobis* of 9 July 1567[7] and the reformed missal in his letter *Quo primum tempore* of 14 July 1570. His *motu proprio* of 17 December 1571 granted an examption for countries under Spanish rule, thereby allowing them to follow the rite of Toledo, the primatial see. Similarly dioceses and religious orders who had a distinctive liturgical tradition dating back at least

[4] Allan W. Atlas discusses Guillaume Dufay's *L'homme armé* Mass in *Renaissance Music: Music in Western Europe, 1400–1600* (New York: Norton, 1998), pp. 124–26 and the '*L'homme armé* tradition' on pp. 148–50.

[5] For a discussion of this Tridentine aesthetic in music and text see Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 615–18.

[6] *Breviarium Romanum*.

[7] Robert F. Hayburn, *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music, 95 AD to 1977 AD* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1979), pp. 34, 64 n. 4.

200 years were allowed to retain and revise their rite, subject to papal approval.[8] Further revisions of the Roman breviary proved necessary, so that Clement VIII issued a new edition in 1602 and Urban VIII, in his bull *De Divina Psalmodia* of 25 January 1632, ordered yet another edition, this time with corrections to the hymns.[9] The publication of the reformed Roman missal of 1570 was followed by a two-volume reformed gradual, now known as the 'Medicaean edition', edited by Giovanni Anerio (*c.* 1567–1630)[10] and Francesco Soriano (1548/9–1621)[11] and published in 1614 and 1615.[12] Since the Carmelites could trace their medieval liturgy back to the ordinal of Sibert de Beka, promulgated in 1312, their liturgy fell conveniently under the exemption allowed by Pius V. Since some Carmelites, including the Generals Nicolas Audet and Ioannes Stephanus Facinus, had attended the Council of Trent,[13] the Carmelites, like the other mendicant orders, were in a good position to revise their rite and seek Roman approval for it, which they decided to do. The newer order of Discalced Carmelites (O.C.D.) sons and daughters of the reform of St Teresa of Jesus (Avila) and St John of the Cross, had recently been confirmed as a separate religious order by Clement VIII in his constitution *Pastoralis officii* of 20 December 1593.[14] Thus as a new ecclesiastical entity the Order of Discalced Carmelites accepted the Roman rite[15] while the Order of Carmelites decided to revise its liturgy, still known as the rite of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, and submit it to Vatican authorities for approval.

[8] P. Raphael Molitor, *Die Nach-Tridentinische Choral-Reform zu Rom: Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols (Leipzig: Leuckart, 1901–02; repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1976); Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, p. 34.

[9] Edmund A. Caruana, O. Carm., 'The Influence of the Roman Rite on the Carmelite Breviary after the Council of Trent', *Carmelus*, 31 (1984), 65.

[10] Klaus Fischer, 'Anerio, Giovanni Francesco', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, I, 643–46.

[11] Noel O'Regan, 'Soriano [Suriano, Suriani, Surianus], Francesco', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, XXIII, 745–46.

[12] Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 615–18.

[13] Carmelites who attended the Council of Trent included bishops, the prior general, theologians and priests. For a session-by-session discussion of this Carmelite presence at the Council see P. Serapion Seiger, 'Carmelitae in Concilio Tridentino', *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*, 12 (1943), 147–66.

[14] Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 131.

[15] This was granted by Sixtus V on 20 September 1586: Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 232.

The Order of Carmelites conducted a thorough revision of its own liturgical rite as mandated by its General Chapter of 1580.[16] After a number of failed attempts to produce a satisfactory reformed breviary and missal, John Baptist Caffardi (d. 1592), elected Prior General by the General Chapter of 1580,[17] appointed a commission who regularized the Carmelite liturgy and published the reformed breviary in 1585 (Rome, Francis Zannetti) and missal in 1587 (Rome, James Tornerio).[18] A brief of Gregory XIII on 4 August 1584 gave papal approval to the breviary, but not to the missal,[19] and required additional approval for any further changes. The Carmelite breviary, published by authority of the Prior General but with papal approval for its contents, standardized the Carmelite office for the Tridentine era. A subsequent brief of Gregory XIII from 27 September 1584 reserved to the prior general the right to publish Carmelite breviaries and missals, and also commended the reform efforts of the Carmelite prior general, John Baptist Caffardi.[20] The Carmelite reforms left the hymns intact, preferring not to comply with the humanist principles endorsed by the Council of Trent, with the result that the Carmelite hymns remained unaltered and hence unspoiled by such tendencies.[21] After the publication of the Carmelite breviary and missal, the ordinal of Sibert de Beka was also revised under the direction of the Prior General, Henry Sylvio, who commissioned a Spaniard, Cyril de las Heras, to prepare a new ordinal or ceremonial.[22] This is presumably the same one which the chapter of 1613 ordered to be examined by a commission for the purposes of publication. In 1616 the new ceremonial, edited by the Spanish Carmelite Pedro de los Apóstoles, was published (Rome, G. Faciotto, 1616).[23] Joachim Smet notes that this ceremonial 'adopted a number of rubrics from the Roman rite, especially in the Mass',[24] as we shall presently show; the

[16] Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 230-231.

[17] Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 162.

[18] Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 231.

[19] Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 231.

[20] Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 231.

[21] Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 232.

[22] Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 232.

[23] *Ceremoniale Divini Officii, secundum Ordinem Fratrum B. Virginis Mariae de monte Carmeli. Ad normam novi Missalis, & Breviarij compilatum: Rmi. Patris Magistri Sebastiani Fantoni eiusdem Ordinis Prioris Generalis iussu aeditum* (Rome: Apud Gulielmum Faciottum, 1616); Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 232.

[24] Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 233.

medieval Carmelite office, however, remained distinctive. This ceremonial guaranteed that a standardized liturgy, uniform for the order and in continuity with its medieval tradition, became the norm for Carmelites in the Tridentine era. The advent of printing allowed the Carmelites to continue the tradition of their 1495 printed breviary mentioned in Chapter 3 and to provide complete texts for the chants of the office and Mass, unlike Sibert's ordinal which stipulated only rubrics. No printed antiphonals have survived, leaving open the question whether any ever existed. The general tendency of the Tridentine Kraków manuscripts not to include Matins chants suggests that the local Carmelites either continued to use the older medieval manuscripts for this purpose or availed themselves of a printed work which is no longer extant.

Since the full texts already existed in the breviary, the ceremonial concentrated on those parts of Sibert's ordinal which prescribed the details for performing the rituals themselves, rather than stipulating the incipits for all the chants and prayers. Thus it discussed the role of the prior, subprior, and the various ministers responsible for leading the celebration, including the leader for the week, known as the hebdomadarian, and the cantors, who probably served on a more permanent basis rather than rotating every week.[25] The ceremonial also included rubrics for ringing the bells, for deciding which liturgical colours to use, how many candles to light, and other details involved in celebrating the Divine Office.[26]

Rubric 13 of Book 1[27] specifically set forth the regulations for music, including the use of the organ, prescribing the occasions on which it was to be used, as for instance, at all Sunday Masses outside of Advent and Lent, except for 'Gaudete', the third Sunday in Advent and 'Laetare', the fourth Sunday of Lent.[28] It then stipulated in great detail the manner in which the organ was to accompany or follow the chant, as for example alternating the verses of the *Kyrie* or *Gloria*.[29] Such *alternatim* practice was part of a larger trend in baroque

[25] *Ceremoniale*, 'Liber Primus, Prima Pars', pp. 1–17.

[26] *Ceremoniale*, 'Liber Primus, Secunda Pars', pp. 17–36.

[27] *Ceremoniale*, pp. 26–29.

[28] 'Organa regulariter pulsari debent ad Missam, & Vesperas in omnibus Dominicis; exceptis Dominicis Adventus, & Quadragesimae: sed in Dominica tertia Adventus, quae dicitur *Gaudete*, & in quarta Quadragesimae, quae dicitur *Laetare*, ad Missam debent pulsari'. *Ceremoniale*, p. 26.

[29] 'In Missa Organa pulsentur, repetendo Introitum post *Gloria Patri*. Item ad *Kyrie eleison* alternis Versibus, Organis incipientibus; ita ut repetitio Introitus pro primo *Kyrie*

liturgical music, which had spread from Italy, particularly Rome, throughout much of Christendom.[30] Among the prescriptions given in great detail was the injunction against any kind of lascivious or impure music or the use of instruments other than the organ:

> Organista a lascivis cantilenis in pulsando omni tempore abstineat: & ne sonus sit impurus, neve cum eo proferantur cantus ad Officium de quo agitur non spectantes; ne dum profani, aut ludicri; ne item alia instrumenta musicalia praeter ipsum Organum addantur, maxime invigilabit.
>
> Let the organist at all times refrain from impure songs in his playing, and let there be no impure sounds, not even in an Office at which no one [from the outside] is in attendance; he will be extremely vigilant to make sure that no profane or secular songs and no other musical instruments apart from the organ are added.[31]

The difference between this reformed ordinal and its medieval counterpart is that, while Sibert de Beka's ordinal was promulgated by the general chapter of London in 1312 for universal observance, the reformed ceremonial had papal approval in addition to the order's own mandate. Thus these Kraków manuscripts not only conformed to the order's standardized liturgy, but also enjoyed status within the liturgy of the universal Church, which now officially recognized the distinctive nature of the Carmelite tradition.

The Collection of Tridentine Kraków Carmelite Choir Books

Despite the widespread use of printing by the late sixteenth century, liturgical music manuscripts continued to be copied out by hand on parchment, continuing the choir book tradition of the Middle Ages. A rare exception to this rule is the series of liturgical choir books published in Venice by Lucantonio Giunta, especially his Roman gradual published in 1499–1500.[32] This and other

etiam deserviat. Eodem modo ad *Gloria in excelsis* alternatis Versibus, Organisque incipientibus'. *Ceremoniale*, p. 26.

[30] Craig Wright and Bryan Simms, *Music in Western Civilization* (Belmont: Thomson Schirmer, 2006) discuss this *alternatim* technique in connection with the organ music of Girolamo Frescobaldi on pp. 267–68, for instance.

[31] *Ceremoniale*, p. 27.

[32] Lillian Armstrong briefly discusses the work of Lucantonio Giunta in 'Benedetto Bordon, "Miniator", and Cartography in Early Sixteenth-Century Venice', *Imago Mundi*, 48 (1996), 65–92 specifically p. 70 where she refers to the two-volume Gradual he printed in 1499–1500; David Crawford cites this gradual on p. 345 of his study, 'Surveying

incunabula choir books produced by Giunta, followed the Roman rite; the prospect of extensive sales of the resulting books presumably offset the costs of their production. For a relatively small order like the Carmelites, however, the number of houses wherein the choir books would be used probably did not justify the expense of contracting with an outside printer to produce a set of manuscripts for every convent, although the order had availed itself of printing to disseminate a uniform breviary as early as 1495, as we have already seen. Giunta did print a Carmelite missal dated 5 January 1500,[33] but no specifically Carmelite graduals or antiphonals emanating from his or other presses have come to light. The dimensions of the missal and the smaller amount of music it contains make it more suitable for printing than the larger format antiphonals and graduals, which also by definition contain much more music. While the production of manuscripts within each convent may seem prohibitively costly, the durability of the resulting parchment choir books probably offset the expense of making them. The painstaking production of manuscripts reflects a spiritual respect for the sacred word and for the liturgical services for which the books were destined, and was part of a long tradition within the order. The textual and musical detail and the use of decorated initials gave the resulting codices a richness that is generally impossible to achieve in a printed book and also allowed the Carmelites who produced them to express their own distinctive heritage in the border decoration and capital letters, some of which were historiated, as well as in the liturgical chants themselves. Similarly, most of these codices have elaborate bindings, occasionally even with engravings of the Virgin Mary or one of the Carmelite saints on the front and/or back cover.

The continuing production of liturgical manuscripts in Kraków throughout the eighteenth century is consistent with the production of liturgical manuscripts in other Carmelite centres. These other sets of Carmelite codices include manuscripts from the church and convent of Santa Maria in Traspontina, now in the Centro Internazionale Sant' Alberto in Rome, the seven choir books from the Roman church and convent of San Martino ai

Renaissance Liturgical Materials: Methodology and the Computer', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 30 (1988), 345–54; see also Lilian Pruett, 'Music Research in Yugoslavia', *Notes*, 2nd ser., 36 (1979), 23–49, especially pp. 41–43 for biographical information concerning Lucantonio Giunta and other members of his family.

[33] Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, p.262, citing the description of this Missal in W. Weale and H. Bohatta, *Catalogus Missalium ritus latini* (London: Quaritch, 1928), no. 1885.

Monti, a collection of manuscripts written in Onda and Caudete in Spain, now housed in the convent in Onda, an uncatalogued collection of manuscripts in the Carmine of Naples, and a few later manuscripts in the Carmine of Pisa.[34]

The Seventeenth Century. The largest, earliest, most beautiful, and most famous manuscript in the Kraków collection is the gradual produced by a Carmelite of the convent, Fr Stanisław de Stolec, in 1644. Because of its size Jerzy Gołos listed it as rkp. 1 in his inventory,[35] but chronologically it belongs in the series as codex 6. Since no medieval graduals mentioned in the two inventories discussed earlier have survived, this gradual is our earliest evidence for Mass chants in the Kraków convent. It may have replaced one of the earlier graduals, since its contents are generally limited to the Sundays of the temporal cycle, weekdays of Lent, votive Masses, and a *kyriale*, the chants for the ordinary of the Mass. More famous for its 110 historiated initials than for its musical contents, it nonetheless is the first such manuscript produced after the Council of Trent, within thirty years of the promulgation of the revised ceremonial mentioned above. Its sheer beauty and the exquisite detail of its decoration make one question whether its use was restricted to vocally enhancing the regular celebration of Mass or whether it was put on display for the visual edification of the faithful at periodic intervals.

The Eighteenth Century. Many of the Tridentine manuscripts in Table 1 have colophons or other inscriptions which establish their date. The surviving eighteenth-century manuscripts indicate that two campaigns for the production of new liturgical books took place within the province. Thus Fr Bonaventura Kiełkowicz in Kraków was responsible for the revision in 1743 of the three original manuscripts, CarK1 and CarK2 in Kraków and MS 12025/IV in the Ossiliński Library of Wrocław (Wro); he also supervised the production of new manuscripts, CarK10 in 1738, CarK11 in 1742, and CarK12 in 1743. Similarly, Fr Marcin Rubczyński in Lwów was responsible for the production of CarK13 and CarK14 in 1744, CarK15 and CarK16 in 1745, and CarK18 in 1747.[36]

[34] Boyce, 'The Carmelite Office in the Tridentine Era', pp. 353–87.

[35] Gołos, 'Muzykalia Biblioteki Klasztoru Karmelitów', pp. 86-97.

[36] Wacław Kolek, 'Rubczyński, Marcin', *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 32 vols (Wrocław: Polska Akademia Nauk Instytut Historii, 1989–91), XXXII, 561–62.

The revision of CarK1, CarK2, and Wro in 1743 indicates that the liturgical changes legislated by the Council of Trent and endorsed by the order were introduced slowly into the Kraków convent, since the medieval codices must have continued to be used up until 1743, more than a century after the order's revision of its office liturgy. The distinctiveness of the order's liturgy generally was more evident in texts for the office than for the Mass, which throughout the medieval period used standard texts, usually from the Psalms, for all its proper chants. There may have been less pressure to revise the antiphonals than to update the graduals, since it would be evident to the laity who attended their church, as well as to diocesan authorities, whether or not the Carmelites were complying with the directives of the Council of Trent in their Mass celebrations. The local Carmelites also chose to update existing books where possible as well as to produce new ones. The revision of the older antiphonals suggests a healthy respect for established tradition and probably for the link with the parent house of Prague; it was also an economical decision, especially since substantial chants from the medieval liturgy could still be used in the revised Tridentine office. The newly produced antiphonaries for Kraków, CarK11[37] and CarK12[38], complement each other, with CarK11 containing the temporal cycle chants and CarK12 containing the sanctoral ones. As we shall discuss later, the contents of CarK11 and CarK12 are much more limited than those of the earlier antiphonals CarK1 and CarK2, primarily because they do not contain chants for Matins. Thus CarK1, CarK2, CarK11, and CarK12 (along with a psalter) were all necessary to celebrate the cycle of daily liturgies for the Divine Office in Kraków in the second half of the eighteenth century.

CarK10[39] and CarK7[40] function for the Mass chants in an analogous fashion to CarK1, CarK2, CarK11, and CarK12 for the office. Each has an extensive section of ordinary Mass chants, in some cases obviously reflecting local Polish customs: thus the rubric 'Credo: Symbolum fidei Nicoenum in cantu

[37] Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, ii, number this as codex 10 and discuss it on pp. 80–81.

[38] Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, ii, number this as codex 12 and discuss it on pp. 82–83.

[39] Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, ii, number this as codex 9 and discuss it on pp. 79–80.

[40] Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, ii, discuss this manuscript, numbered MS 5 and described as a gradual from the seventeenth century, with a commentary on the historiated initials, on pp. 70–72 of their study.

Lublinensi' (CarK7, fol. 30^{v}) prescribes a rendition of the *Credo* according to the chant tradition of the city of Lublin. CarK7 contains the sanctoral cycle of chants while CarK10 has the pieces for the temporal cycle, which covers much of the same material as CarK6, the gradual produced by Fr Stanisław.

Fr Gregory Radwański's name is mentioned in colophons as the friar responsible for the production of CarK8 and CarK9 in 1720 and 1727 respectively. CarK9[41] is a *kyriale* dated to 1727 with both monophonic and two-part renditions of the ordinary chants, some of which are specifically written in mensural notation. This is one of the few surviving examples of a two-part singing practice which evidently was a tradition within the convent. CarK8 is a processional that is currently housed in the sacristy as part of this collection of manuscripts.[42] Numerous smaller printed processionals are also found in the convent library[43] and remind us that regular processions, especially during Lent, formed (and continue to form) an important devotional practice in the Carmelite community.

Codices CarK13 through CarK18 were produced under the direction of Fr Marcin Rubczyński for the convent in Lwów in a parallel project to that of Fr Bonaventura Kiełkowicz for Kraków. Thus for the Divine Office the three antiphonaries, CarK13 and CarK14 of 1744 and CarK16 from 1745, complement each other in a manner similar to their Kraków counterparts: CarK13 contains chants for the temporal cycle, CarK14 contains chants for the common of the saints and votive celebrations and CarK16 contains chants for the sanctoral cycle. CarK17 is a psalter, also written for Lwów under the direction of Fr Rubczyński, containing the Psalm texts for chanting the office Psalms. Books for the Mass, CarK15 and CarK18, also complement each other: CarK15, a *kyriale* and gradual from 1745, contains Masses for Advent, and for Septuagesima Sunday through Holy Saturday, along with Mass ordinaries and Masses for the common of the saints; CarK18 includes Masses for Christmas and the days following it through the Sundays after Epiphany, followed by Easter and the Sundays for ordinary time through the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, and also contains Masses for the entire sanctoral cycle.

[41] This manuscript is no. 8 in Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, II, erroneously identified as an antiphonal in their discussion on pp. 77–79.

[42] Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, II, describe this manuscript, no. 7, on p. 77 of their study, where they erroneously identify it as an antiphonal.

[43] These books are listed in Table 1 and described in greater detail in the Appendix.

The fact that both the Kraków and Lwów convents conducted an extensive revision of the liturgy followed by the production of new manuscripts at approximately the same time suggests that this was either a coincidence or a deliberate decision of the province as a whole. Fr Serapion Maria Opielka's reference to Fr Rubczyński being the Provincial of the 'Provincia Polono-Ruthena seu Russiae S. Joseph'[44] led Joachim Smet to state that he was 'Provincial of the Russian province';[45] while this is true, the provinces were only split in 1754, after the time of the revision of these manuscripts. Thus at the time these Kraków manuscripts were revised the convent of Lwów still belonged to the Polish province, of which Kraków was the oldest and largest convent.

Colophons in several of the manuscripts shed light on their composition as, for example, the one for CarK8: 'Gubernante Carmelum Polonum A[dmodum] R[everendo] P[adre] S[acrae] T[heologiae] B[accalaureatus] et D[octor] Gregorio Radwański Hic Liber Ejusdem Cura Stetit. Anno Domini 1720'. The phrase 'Gubernante Carmelum Polonum' suggests that he was Provincial at the time of production of the manuscript. While little is known of Fr Radwański, his credentials in theology qualified him to direct the production of the manuscript and lent authority to the result. Since music was part of the initial training for Carmelites, before they began theological studies, the credentials in theology presupposed at least an adequate knowledge of chant. The colophon also suggests that theological knowledge was more important than musical ability in producing such a manuscript, although Fr Radwański, like Fr Procopius from Prague mentioned in Chapter 3, presumably had skill and experience in both areas.

Fr Rubczyński's efforts are described in the title page for CarK16, the antiphonary from 1745:

> Gloria sanctorum in Ecclesia Dei vocis laudibus resonata. Diebus Quibus Eorum Solemnia ritibus piis a Christi fidelibus quotannis celebrantur in Antiphonas Disposita quas Cantu Chorali expressas, Choro Carmeli Leopoliensis Majoris ad sonum et tonum exponitur. Fr Martinus Rubczynski, S[acrae] Th[eologiae] Magister, Eiusdem conventus Prior. 1745'.

A similar title page concerning Fr Kiełkowicz for CarK11 from Kraków reads,

[44] Opielka, 'Provinciae Poloniae', p. 516.

[45] Smet, *Carmelites*, IIIB, 447.

> Antiphonarium Hoc ad Laudem et Gloriam Dei Omnipotentis Prius in Essentia & Trini In Personis necnon Salvatoris Nostri D[omi]n[i] Jesu Christi. Anno ab Incarnatione eius Millesimo Septingesimo Quadragesimo Secundo scripsit Adm[odum] R[evere]ndus P[ater] M[a]g[iste]r Bonaventura Kiełkowicz Sa[cra]e Theol[ogiae] Doctor Exprovincialis et pro tunc Prior Conventus huius Arenensis Quod Lileris adornaverunt Relig[iosi] PP[atres] Elias Samnocki, S[acrae] Th[eologiae] C[usto]r Et Maximilianus Łachowski.

The credentials in theology for both Fr Kiełkowicz and Fr Rubczyński legitimized the contents of the books. Both were priors of the convent at the time of production of the manuscripts and Fr Kiełkowicz was also an ex-provincial, giving additional authority to the value of the resulting work. Even Fr Samnocki who did some of the decoration had proper credentials in theology; perhaps Maximilianus Łachowski was his assistant, since no such credentials are given for him. These title pages indicate the official status of the choir books and enable us to appreciate the esteem in which they were held by those who used them. Following correct liturgical practices was essential to the religious life of the convent, so that it was important to include the theological credentials of those who supervised the composition of the books. While the musical expertise of these compilers was probably presumed, since it would have been acquired before studying theology, the essential element to legitimize the books seems to have been the correctness and clarity of their texts rather than their musical style. While the books do not specifically mention either the Carmelite rite of the Holy Sepulchre or the promulgations of the Council of Trent, the contents of these books demonstrate that they faithfully complied with the directives of both.

CarK19–CarK25 are either later manuscripts or ones which complement but do not replace those mentioned above. CarK23, for instance, is a *kyriale* containing the ordinary chants in mensural notation, while CarK24 contains the chants of a mass entitled 'Missa in Ecclesia Dei' for two voices. Since these choir books from the mid-eighteenth century were never supplanted later, they presumably continued to be used for at least a century after their production.

The Graduals and the Chants for Mass

The promulgation in 1570 of the 'Editio Princeps' of the Roman Missal meant that a standardized rite was now available against which to compare the liturgies of a particular diocese or religious order. While in the medieval period one could compare Carmelite usage against local diocesan practice in a given city, after the Council of Trent one could assess the differences between the Carmelite expression

of the rite of the Holy Sepulchre and the liturgy of the universal Roman church, a comparison which highlights the distinctiveness of the Carmelite rite.

The Gradual of 1644. The oldest and most famous of the Tridentine Kraków codices is the gradual of 1644, generally considered the work of a single remarkable Carmelite, Stanisław de Stolec.[46] A ceiling medallion in the convent sacristy (Figure 8) depicts Fr Stanisław diligently working on his manuscript, placed on an easel in an idealized portrait. Fr Stanisław received the Carmelite habit around the year 1630 and studied theology in the Kraków convent,[47] making his profession of vows on 8 September 1636.[48] The reference in the convent's book of receipts and expenses to a payment of 50 florins for his gradual ('do Gradualu P. Stanisla'.)[49] is the only expense listed in the house records for the production of this manuscript. The acts of the provincial chapter held in Poznań in 1649 mention Fr Stanisław as prior in Lipiny,[50] a smaller community listed in the 1655 chapter acts as consisting of four priests, four clerical students and five brothers.[51] The single word 'peste' next to his name in later chapter acts listing the recently deceased Carmelites indicates that he died of the plague on 29 January 1660,[52] only sixteen years after the production of this gradual.

[46] Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, II, no. 6, pp. 72–77.

[47] Wacław Kolak, 'Stanisław ze Stolca', *Polski Slownik Biograficzny*, 32 vols (Warszawa-Kraków 2003), XLII, 82–83.

[48] Archivum Karmelitów w Krakowie, 130, *Liber professorum*, p. 63.

[49] Archivum Karmelitów w Krakowie, 110, *Liber perceptarum et expensarum sub regimine provincialatus [. . .] Serapionis Knyper [. . .]*, 1664, 18 V–1694, p. 1186; Kolak, *Katalog Archiwum*, p. 87.

[50] Archivum Karmelitów w Krakowie, 93, *Akta kapitul prowincjalnych, sesji definitorów prowincji, kopie pism generała zakonu*, 1603, 7 XI–1667, fol. 160v; Kolak, *Katalog Archiwum*, p. 84.

[51] Archivum Karmelitów w Krakowie, 93, *Akta kapitul prowincjalnych, sesji definitorów prowincji, kopie pism generała zakonu*, 1603, 7 XI–1667, fol. 180v.

[52] Kolak, 'Stanisław ze Stolca Stolcensis', p. 1.



Figure 8: Ceiling medallion of Fr Stanisław and his manuscript.

The ceiling medallion portrays the gradual as a work of artistic value rather than simply as a liturgical book. While it is most famous for its 110 historiated initials, some of them based on pre-existing prints but now incorporated into a liturgical context,[53] it contains texts and chants for all the Sundays of the year as well as for major feasts and the weekdays of Lent; its contents are shown in the Appendix. Conspicuously absent here is the feast of the Commemoration of the Resurrection, since this important medieval Carmelite observance was discontinued after the Council of Trent. The date of 1644 makes it one of the first Carmelite graduals to be produced after the council of Trent and hence one of the earliest to follow the revised Carmelite rite.

In Chapter 3 we demonstrated the ways in which the medieval Carmelite and Holy Sepulchre rites remained distinctive from other usages for the liturgies of the temporal cycle. Apart from the occasional difference in the choice of chant between the Carmelite liturgy and another rite, the principal distinguishing feature between the medieval Carmelite rite and Roman usage was numbering the later Sundays in ordinary time after Trinity rather than after Pentecost, a practice which continued into the Tridentine era as well. Thus Mass chants for the second Sunday after Trinity in the Carmelite practice were almost the same as those for the second Sunday after Pentecost in the Roman tradition. For example, the chants 'Factus est Dominus' for the Introit, 'Ad Dominum' for the Gradual, 'Domine convertere' for the Offertory, and 'Cantabo Domino' for the Communion are common to the second Sunday after Trinity in the Carmelite rite and the second Sunday after Pentecost in Roman usage; only the Alleluia verses are different between the two traditions, 'Domine Deus salutis meae' in the Carmelite usage and 'Domine Deus in te speravi' in the Roman rite. Since Trinity Sunday falls a week after Pentecost, the Sundays following Trinity in the Carmelite rite generally used the same Mass chants as those used the previous week in the Roman rite.

The Gradual of 1644 shows almost no emendations or accommodation to later use, apart from the occasional insertion of a letter or word where it had been accidentally omitted. The historiated initials make it a valuable example of

[53] Thus, for example, the historiated 'S' for 'Sitientes venite ad aquas', 'All you who are thirsty come to the waters', taken from Isaiah 55, the Introit antiphon for the Saturday after Laetare Sunday, depicts a simplified version of a copper engraving by Jerome Wierix entitled 'Christ standing at the Wine-Press', originally executed around 1595: John B. Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands: Heaven and Earth*, 2 vols (Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1947), II, 471–73; James Boyce, O. Carm., 'Picturing the Sacred: The Carmelite Gradual of Krakow', *The Sword*, 4 (2004), 42–53.

Polish baroque art and the subject of at least one study of both its artistic and musical characteristics.[54] The historiated initials relate either to the Gospel of the Sunday, to some aspect of Tridentine theology, or to a theme of particular Carmelite interest.[55] The beautifully historiated initials give a clear reason why the manuscript was never emended for daily use from the time of its production until the present day. We can presume that it actually was used for daily liturgy but, since its illuminations provided a valuable medium for theological instruction and evangelism, it may also have been put on display on certain occasions for the edification of the faithful.[56]

The historiated initials serve as vehicles for promoting Counter Reformation doctrine as defined by the Council of Trent and for expressing particularly Carmelite values. We illustrate these two functions of the initials by discussing 1) the historiated 'S' for *Sanctus* which offers a pictorial reflection on the Trinity; 2) the historiated 'P' for *Patrem*, the beginning of the *Credo* after the opening formula has been intoned by the priest celebrant, depicting the first Carmelites in the presence of Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem; and 3) the historiated 'N' for 'Nos autem gloriari oportet', the Introit antiphon for Tuesday of Holy Week that depicts two Carmelites meditating on the cross.

[54] It is discussed, for instance, in Kopera Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, II, and is also the subject of a monograph, Tadeusz Chrzanowki and Tadeusz Maciejewski, *Graduale Karmelitański z 1644 roku O. Stanisława ze Stolca* (Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax 1976).

[55] Boyce, 'Picturing the Sacred', pp. 42–53 offers a preliminary discussion of this process.

[56] David Freedberg poses a similar question concerning a work of the Jesuit Jerome Nadal, *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia quae in sacrosancto missae sacrificio toto anno leguntur, cum evangeliorum concordantia historiae integritati sufficienti. Accessit & Index historiam ipsam Evangelicam in ordinem temporis Vitae Christi distribuens* (Antwerp: Nutiens, 1595); the illustrated section of this book is entitled *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*. Freedberg, in discussing Nadal's book, maintains that its illustrations were intended primarily as aids to meditation for the Jesuits, especially the novices. David Freedberg, 'A Source for Rubens's Modello of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin: A Case Study in the Response to Images', *The Burlington Magazine*, 120 (1978), 432–41 (pp. 433–34).



Figure 9: The historiated 'S' for 'Sanctus' in CarK6, p. 45.

The Explanation of the Trinity.

The historiated 'S' of *Sanctus* on page 45, shown in Figure 9, depicts the Trinity as a three-faced figure. This figure holds a triangular structure depicting the Catholic understanding of the Trinity. At each of the triangle's three points there is a disc, each labelled with the name of a different member of the Trinity: 'Pater' on the left, 'Filius' on the right, and 'Spiritus Sanctus' on the bottom. From each disc, in turn, a branch inscribed with the word 'est' extends toward a central circle containing the word 'Deus', thus yielding 'Pater est Deus', for instance. Branches extending from one of the triangle's points to another contain the words 'non est', thus indicating that 'Pater non est Filius', for

example. The triangular structure thus conveys the teaching that each of the persons of the Trinity is God, while each person is distinct from the other.

This depiction of the Trinity is a beautiful rendition of a much older medieval teaching: a much cruder depiction of this triangular structure occurs in the manuscript London, British Library, Additional MS 24674, folio 63, for instance. Suzanne Lewis has discussed this type of structure, commonly known as the 'scutum fidei', or shield of faith, in connection with the *Chronica Majora* written by Matthew Paris, the thirteenth-century chronicler of St Albans abbey.[57] Matthew Paris describes in considerable detail King John's expedition of revenge against his enemies in the autum of 1215, which in turn provoked a rebellion on the part of the barons, who sought to put Louis, son of King Philip of France, on the throne of England to replace John. The rebels referred to the themselves as 'the Army of God and the Holy Church', an epithet used by the monastic chroniclers Walter of Coventry and Ralph of Coggeshall and also repeated in the *Chronica Majora*.[58] Matthew Paris used a drawing of the 'Scutum Fidei' to illustrate his viewpoint of the righteousness of the barons' cause, and the shield he drew is similar to the one used in the Carmelite Gradual. Matthew's shield was used alongside a similar shield depicting the 'Scutum Animae', which Lewis maintains are among the earliest depictions of these devices.[59] She offers a pictorial example from a manuscript from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, folio 45^{v},[60] as well as from the *Dicta* of Robert Grosseteste on the Shield of Faith as found in Durham Cathedral MS A. III. 12, folio 14^{v},[61] a work which dates to before 1231; thus the shield of faith was not devised by Matthew Paris, who only wrote his *Chronica Majora* between 1236, when he succeeded Roger Wendover as historian of St Albans abbey, and his death in 1259.[62] Lewis cites a further instance, a moralizing treatise in the manuscript British Library, Harley 3244, folio 28,[63] wherein the shield of faith was used as the knight's shield to fight off the Vices. A more

[57] Suzanne Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

[58] Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, p. 197.

[59] Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, pp. 194–200.

[60] Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, p. 194, fig. 113.

[61] Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, p. 195, fig. 113A.

[62] Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, pp. 3–5.

[63] Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, p. 196, fig. 114.

detailed and larger illustration in Matthew's hand has been preserved in John of Wallingford's *Miscellanea*, in the manuscript London, British Library, Cotton MSS, Julius D, VII, folio 3^{v},[64] where it is further associated with an image of Christ on the cross. Lewis then correctly points out that Matthew Paris in fact applied the text of Ephesians 6. 16 to this image; in this text St Paul urges his readers to 'put on the armour of God that you may be able to withstand the wiles of the devil. For we are not contending against flesh and blood, but against [. . .] the earthly rulers of this present darkness'.[65] This pictorial association thus allowed Matthew Paris to make a political commentary upon the validity of the barons' cause against King John.

This Pauline battle imagery of Ephesians was important to the Carmelites as well, not because of a single incident of rebellion, but because of their entire vocation to the spiritual combat of evil. This imagery figures prominently in the Carmelite rule and may relate to the prominence of Pauline feasts in the medieval Carmelite liturgy, as we have discussed in Chapter 3. Thus Fr Stanisław, by his depiction of the shield of faith within the 'S' of *Sanctus*, recalls pictorially its ongoing importance for Carmelite spirituality and illustrates the importance of Paul's teaching for the Carmelite rule and daily life. He also gives new vigour to a medieval image, reusing it in an early-modern gradual some four centuries after its first appearance.

Both the shield of faith and the three-faced figure of God are depicted within the context of an historiated 'S' for *Sanctus*, thereby postulating the Triune God, illustrated in two different ways, as the all-holy One. The vision of the heavenly court, on which the Sanctus text from Isiah 6 is based, is ultimately the vision of the Godhead and, for the Carmelite, the object of a prayerful and holy life. While Fr Stanisław and his confreres may not have read the *Chronica Majora* of Matthew Paris, they probably had a general notion of the 'scutum fidei' and the Pauline notion of spiritual armour; its use in this gradual provides both an interpretation of the Carmelite rule, especially its Pauline imagery, and a fitting image of God as the holy One.

The Problem of a Carmelite Founder.

We have seen in Chapter 1 that the early Carmelites faced a severe problem in not having a specific charismatic leader whom they could identify as their founder and that consequently they expended considerable effort throughout

[64] Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, p. 197, fig. 115.

[65] Lewis, *Art of Matthew Paris*, p. 197.

the Middle Ages in developing the foundation story they did not otherwise have, leading them eventually to promote the prophet Elijah as their founder.

A picture functioning analogously to a historiated initial substitutes for the opening letter 'P' for *Patrem*, the continuation of the *Credo* by the choir after the celebrant has intoned the incipit 'Credo in unum Deum', on page 40, shown as our Figure 10. This picture addresses the problem of a founder by depicting in the lower space a group of Carmelites in the presence of a prelate and two clerics, while in the upper space is depicted the Trinity, with Jesus on the left, the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove in the middle, and God the Father on the right. The foremost Carmelite is seated and haloed, suggesting that he is the leader of the group. The wide-brimmed hat of the prelate indicates that he must be Albert of Jerusalem, the Latin patriarch who gave the first hermits their *formula vitae* some time during his term of office, 1206–14, as we discussed in Chapter 1. Despite the anachronism in the Carmelite costume, since the hermits did not adopt the white cloak until after the chapter of Montpellier of 1287,[66] the group of Carmelites must represent the original hermits. The Innocentian revision of the rule identified the leader as 'B'., a single initial which eventually was expanded to become 'Brocard', who was then venerated as a saint within the Carmelite liturgy. The haloed and seated figure sits on a chair on the floor while the prelate is on a slightly raised dais, but the two seem virtually on the same level in the composition of the historiated initial. Albert was venerated among the Carmelites as the prelate who gave the hermits their original rule and legitimized them within the Church, and 'B' or 'Brocard' came to be venerated in the Carmelite liturgy as the leader of the hermit community who received the rule. Stanisław de Stolec, by inserting this picture, which also includes the image of God the Father along with the other members of the Trinity in the upper space, into the 'P' of *Patrem*, implicitly postulates either 'B' or Albert as the earthly father of the Carmelites. In either case the clear message in this illumination is that fidelity to the earthly father, either the giver or recipient of the first rule, is the prerequisite for expressing fidelity to the heavenly father. Since the *Credo* is a statement of fundamental Christian belief, observance of the rule is for the Carmelite the practical application of this basic belief in God.

[66] Robinson, *Carmelite Constitutions of 1357*, p. 92.



Figure 10: The historiated ‘P’ for ‘Patrem’ in CarK6, p. 40

The historiated ‘N’ for ‘Nos autem gloriari oportet’, the Introit antiphon on folio 166 for Tuesday of Holy Week, uses a text from Galatians 6. 14, ‘May I never boast of anything but the cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ’ and appropriately depicts two Carmelites gazing on the cross of the Lord (Figure 11) Meditation on the cross is an important part of Carmelite spirituality, and the Kraków convent has numerous devotional pictures showing the suffering Christ during His passion. Passion iconography was a well-established medieval

practice used for both teaching and devotional purposes that continued to flourish in the early-modern period.[67] The cross in this image, however is unusual: rather than being of wood it consists instead of verdant foliage, even with grapes growing on the vine. Thus the image highlights the cross as the tree of life and reminds the viewer of the new life brought about by the crucifixion. The figure of Jesus is robust, reminding the viewer that Jesus was a healthy man, thereby further highlighting the tragedy of the event; the significant amount of blood on the corpus further emphasizes his suffering. The crucifixion image at once highlights the depths of anguish of the suffering Lord and its sacrificial benefits to humanity. Depicting two Carmelites in the scene reminds the viewer of this meditation as an important aspect of Carmelite devotional activity. The depiction of Carmelites in full habit of course identifies the manuscript as uniquely Carmelite. The intricacy of the historiated initial as well as the Carmelites in it engage the viewer and draw him or her into the scene itself. Thus this image becomes an integral part of the devotional objects of meditation used in the convent. Such an invitation to meditation strongly suggests that this choir book was viewed, at least upon certain occasions, by a wider audience than the small group of singers who sang from it. At the same time the Carmelites within the scene serve not so much as an example of what some might call Carmelite propaganda as simply a reminder of the importance of meditating on the passion for Carmelites and indeed for the larger church community.

The discussion of these three historiated initials gives some indication of the rich artistic value of this Gradual of 1644 and also illustrates the creativity of Stanisław de Stolec, the friar responsible for its production, who placed music and art at the service of the liturgy. The manner in which he related the historiated initials to the text itself often gave a personal and highly original interpretation to the scriptural or liturgical text. As a result, the imagery he included served as a valuable teaching device and as a useful means for evangelism in the spirit of the Council of Trent.

[67] James H. Marrow is one among many scholars who discuss such imagery. See his *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative*, Ars Neerlandica, Studies in the History of Art of the Low Countries, 1 (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert, 1979).



Figure 11: The historiated 'N' for 'Nos autem gloriari' in CarK6, fol. 166.

The Eighteenth-Century Graduals. Codices 7 (CarK7) and 10 (CarK10) from Kraków and codices 15 (CarK15) and 18 (CarK18) from Lwów contain the chants used for Mass in these two Polish Carmelite centres. The organizational structure of the two sets of codices is not uniform, since the Lwów practice spreads the temporal cycle over its two manuscripts, CarK15 and CarK18, while CarK10 from Kraków contains all the temporal chants as well as the *kyriale* within itself. CarK7 from Kraków has both a *kyriale* and a sanctoral cycle, while CarK18 from Lwów contains both part of the temporal cycle and the whole of the sanctoral cycle within a single choir book. The absence of a colophon in CarK7 means either that it was not done at the

direction of Fr Bonaventura Kiełkowicz, or that the colophon is missing from the manuscript. The temporal cycle is generally organized in the same way in the two manuscripts, the most distinctive feature of which is numbering the Sundays after Trinity rather than Pentecost.

A comparison of the sanctoral cycles shows that in CarK7 the feast of St Andrew (30 November) is missing, although it undoubtedly was celebrated in Kraków. Both CarK7 and CarK18 celebrate the Immaculate Conception of Mary (8 December) with a standard *Gaudeamus* Mass (CarK7:45; CarK18:65). In CarK7 this opening *Gaudeamus* Mass includes extra sections with the appropriate text and music to insert in order to use this same chant to celebrate other Marian feasts and other saints' liturgies. While the sanctoral cycles of both the Kraków and Lwów graduals follow the Carmelite calendar, the Kraków exemplar includes more saints than the Lwów one, suggesting that the latter was concerned primarily with principal feasts which had complete Mass chants, as opposed to a single chant, usually an Introit, used for a particular feast in the Kraków tradition. Presumably the Lwów convent had other more detailed manuscripts on which to rely for the remaining celebrations or, as in the case of *Gaudeamus*, merely substituted the required word from memory. In both the Kraków and Lwów convents, however the valuable work of Sibert de Beka in standardizing Carmelite feasts and their text incipits in the Middle Ages continued during the early-modern period. A colophon after the Mass of St Cyril in the Lwów codex, CarK18, page 105, with the date of 1749, states that some of the Masses were composed by Fr Berthold Zlobinski and copied into the manuscript by Fr Cyril Kulpinski. Here the music was newly composed to standard texts from the ceremonial; unfortunately, no further biographical information has survived concerning either Fr Zlobinski or Fr Kulpinski.

A comparison of the general format of these Kraków and Lwów graduals shows that, while both adhered to the Carmelite rite for Mass, each followed an independent method of organizing the material. In both cases the manuscripts may have complemented existing material in other codices, which explains the different approaches that each convent used.

The Antiphonals and the Chants for the Divine Office

The introduction of square Roman notation on a four-line staff during the course of the thirteenth century meant that choir books necessarily became quite large and commensurately expensive to make. The amount of parchment required for the production of a choir book of necessarily large dimensions,

generally meant that a religious establishment was not likely to discard its liturgical manuscripts if it could possibly adapt them for continuing use. Thus even the cathedral of Salamanca still has in its archive several manuscripts from the medieval collection which probably continued to be used long after the Council of Trent.[68] Despite the importance of the written document like a choir book, it is still possible that canons or friars made some stylistic changes to the chants orally without leaving any written record of the practice. While the canons were a stable core of singers who could easily develop their own method of singing and change the manner of doing so by mutual agreement and without emending the manuscripts, even the more mobile friars may have still exercised some performance latitude which has not been recorded in the manuscipts.[69]

The Council of Trent required the Carmelites to suppress some outdated or dubious feasts, such as the Three Marys and the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for instance, and also allowed them to celebrate new ones for their recently canonized saints, such as St Andrew Corsini and St Angelus. For the vast majority of standard feasts, such as Sts Peter and Paul, Agnes, and many others, as well as for most of the temporal cycle, it was entirely feasible simply to update the older chants to accommodate the new Tridentine tastes.

Updating the 1397 Antiphonals. Kraków manuscripts CarK1, CarK2, and Wro, the three antiphonals originally made in Prague in 1397 for use in Kraków, were revised for continued use in the Tridentine era. In all three cases a new title page gave the revised codex the authority of a legitimate liturgical book, carefully rewritten under knowledgeable supervision according to a clearly defined tradition. The emphasis on the credentials of the revising authority further underscored the importance of the liturgy as an essential aspect of Carmelite religious life.

[68] For a discussion of the Salamanca manuscripts, cf. James Boyce, O. Carm. and others, *Salamanca, Archivo de la Catedral, 5, 6, 7, 8: Printouts from an Index in Machine-Readable Form: A Cantus Index*, Musicological Studies, 55:8 (Ottawa: The Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2001); James Boyce, O. Carm., 'Newly-Discovered Manuscripts for an Old Tradition: The Salamanca Choirbooks', *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 9th Meeting, Esztergom & Visegrád, 1998*, ed. by László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute For Musicology, 2001), pp. 9–28.

[69] Susan Boynton discusses the question of oral influence in the performance of chant in 'Orality', pp. 99–167. While her study deals with chant performance during the eleventh century, it is still possible that such oral influence prevailed at least to some extent in later chant, despite the presence of written antiphonals.

As a result of the Council of Trent metrical or rhymed offices, especially those that were not based on an approved *vita* of the saint, tended not to be celebrated beyond the sixteenth century.[70] Since the earliest Kraków manuscripts originated in Prague and had intricate decoration as well as several historiated initials within them, the Carmelite revisers were careful not to destroy the original art work. Thus the important Marian office of the Visitation, with its 'Exurgens [autem] Maria' rhymed office, which we discussed in Chapter 3, was replaced in CarK1 with Marian chants from the standard repertory without destroying the decorated capital letters. The feast of St Mary Magdalene follows the Visitation feast immediately, beginning on page 81, so that some of the Visitation chants were adapted to serve as its first Vespers chants; in particular the chant 'Exclamavit Elizabeth' received the palimpsest text 'Solemnitatem Magdalenae celebremus' (p. 78). A rubric on page 81 added by an eighteenth-century hand next to the original one prescribes that the antiphons for the feast should be taken from elsewhere in the antiphonal (fol. 131).

The medieval rhymed office of St Catherine of Alexandria (25 November) includes a rubric on page 370 prescribing the first Vespers responsory as 'Virgo flagellatur', along with the hymn 'Virginis proles' with its verse 'Diffusa', as prescribed in Sibert's ordinal[71] and consistent with the usage of Florence, Museo di San Marco, MS 575 (V) rather than the other extant version, Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Codex D, which follows a different tradition,[72] as we discussed in Chapter 3. The large decorated letter 'I', which probably introduced the Magnificant antiphon, 'Inclita sancte virginis', is all that remains of the medieval office, where new palimpsest texts and music have been written over the original chants. Thus for the newly incorporated feast of St Adalbert (p. 370), a rubric prescribes chants from the common except for the new proper Magnificat antiphon, 'Magnificet te Domine', the second Vespers antiphon, 'Per merita Sancti Adalberti' (p. 371), and other palimpsest chants, sometimes

[70] Thus Andrew Hughes states that rhymed offices, 'like sequences, continued to be widely used and composed until the sixteenth century'; 'Rhymed Office', *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* xv, 804.

[71] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 264.

[72] Mainz, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Codex D followed Mainz diocesan tradition, using the rhymed office beginning with 'Ave virgo speciosa' as the Magnificat antiphon for first Vespers, as found in Aschaffenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS Perg. 1, fol. 209, Aschaffenburg, Stiftsbibliothek, MS Perg. 2, fol. 116v, and Würzburg, Universitäts-bibliothek, MS Mp. th. f. 170, fol. 502.

written through or over the surviving initials from the original St Catherine office, which have not been erased. Besides St Adalbert the other feasts added here are the two Polish saints Florian (p. 372) and Stanislaus (p. 372), the Carmelite saints Eliseus the prophet (p. 374) and his master Elias, described as 'Dux et Patri nostri' (p. 382), and the properly Carmelite saint Albert of Sicily, with his 'O Alberte norma munditie' rhymed office (p. 387), followed by the Swedish saints Henry (p. 393), Eric (p. 394), Ansgar (p. 395), Sigfridus (p. 396), Eskil (p. 397), Botuidus (p. 398), Olaf (p. 399),[73] Helen (p. 400), and Birgitta (p. 401), celebrated in Poland after the Protestant reformation once Sweden itself had ceased to be Catholic. Similar adjustments to Tridentine reforms can be seen in CarK2 and Wro, usually dealing with chants for ordinary time. Fortunately in this process of revision the original offices of St Ludmila (CarK1, p. 213) and St Wenceslaus (CarK1, p. 245) were left undisturbed, perhaps out of respect for the Bohemian saints of the founding community of Prague. Similarly the rhymed office of St Anne superimposed the palimpsest text 'O Anna matrona nobilis' over the original Vespers chant 'Gaude Sion filie laudantes' (p. 94), keeping the decorated 'G' intact. The rest of the office was not affected, presumably because it was no longer in use and still considered worth preserving. In CarK2 the St Lazarus chant 'Pater Abraham miserere mei' was added by a later hand (fol. 8) while a palimpsest text, 'Nolite timere quinta [sic] enim die veniet ad vos' (CarK2, p. 216), was superimposed over a text whose original decorated letter 'L' was left intact; the 'L' probably originally began the Benedictus antiphon, 'Lazarus amicus', as prescribed in Sibert's ordinal.

Thus in the process of revision, while a certain amount of material, such as the St Catherine office in CarK1 or the opening section of the St Thomas of Canterbury office in CarK2 (fol. 60), was lost, a great deal of the original office was retained even though it was no longer in use. The opening folios of Wro feature palimpsest chants added over the original text and music; thus, by replacing some of the older and obsolete chants with new ones, the original manuscripts from Prague continued to respond to the demands of the revised

[73] The Magnficat chant 'Adest dies letitie' for St Olaf has the same text as the one published by Hughes, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices*, I, OL21; for a discussion of the cult of this saint, see also Gunilla Iversen, 'Transforming a Viking into a Saint, The Divine Office of St Olav', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography, Written in Honor of Professor Ruth Steiner*, ed. by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 401–29.

liturgy after Trent while still preserving their ancient heritage. CarK3, presumably made in the Kraków convent in 1468, also preserves much of the medieval liturgy, since it underwent far less revision than CarK1 and CarK2, and therefore also preserves a valuable record of some of the earlier offices, including the Three Marys, as we discussed in Chapter 3.

The Eighteenth-Century Kraków Antiphonals. In addition to revising their original manuscripts for the Divine Office the Kraków Carmelites produced several entirely new ones. The principal two new antiphonals specifically written for use in Kraków are CarK11 (Rkp. Perg. 6) from 1742 and CarK12 (Rkp. Perg. 10) from 1743. Predictably CarK11 contains the temporal section and CarK12 the sanctoral cycle. A third parchment manuscript, CarK19 (Rkp. perg. 8) contains chants for the common of the saints. Although it has no colophon it probably served as a complementary codex to CarK11 and CarK12; it also contains some sanctoral chants and some proper and votive Masses.

The office antiphons listed in CarK11 for the second Sunday of Advent begin on page 5; these generally agree both with those listed in Sibert's ordinal and with the Roman breviary published after Trent. In a couple of instances the Tridentine Carmelite version digresses from Roman usage: thus for first Vespers for the second Sunday of Advent the Magnificat antiphon is 'Veni Domine et noli tardare' in CarK11 (page 5) and in Sibert's ordinal[74] but 'Veni visitare nos' in Roman usage;[75] the second Vespers Magnificat antiphon, 'Beata es Maria quae credidisti' is consistent with Sibert's ordinal[76] but differs from Roman practice, which uses 'Tu es qui venturus'[77] instead. Thus for this standard celebration the Carmelites preserved part of their medieval tradition throughout the eighteenth century. For the weekdays following the second Sunday of Advent the Magnificat antiphons for Vespers are standardized among CarK11, the ordinal of Sibert and the Roman breviary: Monday: 'Ecce rex veniet Dominus', Tuesday: 'Vox clamantis in deserto', Wednesday: 'Syon renovaberis', Thursday: 'Qui post me veniet', Friday: 'Cantate Domino canticum', and Saturday: 'Ante me non est formatus'. Such consistency among CarK11, Sibert's ordinal and the published Roman breviary is to be expected

[74] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 112.

[75] *Breviarium Romanum*, ed. by Sodi and others, p. 153.

[76] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 113.

[77] *Breviarium Romanum*, ed. by Sodi and others, p. 156.

for such a standard liturgical occasion. Since the new codices do not include any Matins chants, these must have been sung from the older manuscripts, probably according to the medieval format. In addition to updating the office chants for standard celebrations, CarK11 includes chants for the office and Mass of the Most Holy Name of Jesus and the Mass for the Holy Wounds, two newer feasts that were not part of the medieval Carmelite rite.

CarK12 from 1743 provides the sanctoral counterpart to CarK11, beginning with the chant 'Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram' for the feast of the Chair of St Peter on page 1, with the first Vespers Magnificat antiphon 'Tu es pastor ovium' and the second Vespers Magnificat antiphon 'Solve jubente Deo', as prescribed in Sibert's ordinal.[78] The feast of Sts Fabian and Sebastian begins immediately on page 2, so that these chants on page 1 are the only ones included for the feast of the Chair of Peter. Thus this antiphonal also served as an updated supplement to the standard medieval codices which must have continued to be used throughout the Tridentine era. The Roman rite, unlike Carmelite usage, distinguished between the Antiochene and Roman chairs of Peter, celebrating the former on 22 February and the latter on 18 January. Thus rubrics for the Antiochean chair of Peter prescribe that it should follow the Roman feast, except for three of the readings;[79] here the same first Vespers antiphon, 'Tu es pastor ovium' is used, while the Magnificat antiphon, 'Dum esset summus pontifex', is different from the Roman chair of Peter feast.[80]

Some of the feasts listed in this manuscript reflect later developments in the order's liturgy: these include St Joseph (17 March) listed as 'Protector O[rdinis] N[ostri], St Joachim (16 August) husband of Anne and father of the Virgin Mary, the Patronage (Patrocinio) of St Joseph (3rd Sunday after Easter), St Cajetan and St Thomas of Villanova, in addition to the first Carmelite saint, St Albert of Sicily, and the Polish saints Florian and Stanislaus.

CarK19 (Rkp. perg. 8) has no colophon and no indication of date or scribe, but is clearly an eighteenth-century product. Its contents complement those of CarK11 and CarK12, suggesting that it was used in Kraków rather than Lwów. Thus the first section of the manuscript (pp. 1–32) is followed by commemorations, usually single antiphons (pp. 32–40), and then by offices for later feasts, including Carmelite saints.

[78] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, pp. 214–15.

[79] *Breviarium Romanum*, ed. by Sodi and others, p. 748.

[80] *Breviarium Romanum*, ed. by Sodi and others, p. 728.

The Carmelite saints whose offices are included here are generally not found in the other manuscripts, suggesting that this codex was used in conjunction with them. These saints include St Andrew Corsini, St Angelus, the first Carmelite martyr, St Simon Stock, and St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi, listed as 'Virginis Ordinis N[ost]ri'. A section of votive Masses (pp. 90–131) includes some Mass chants for St Eliseus (pp. 110–11) while a section in a later hand beginning on page 137 includes the office and Mass for St Teresa of Avila as well as antiphons for the feast of the Solemn Commemoration, also known as Our Lady of Mount Carmel (16 July).

The Eighteenth-Century Lwów Antiphonals. The three Lwów antiphonals are CarK13, CarK14, and CarK16. The title page of CarK13 reads:

> Proprium de Tempore quod Solis Diebus Dominicis Convenit Festisque Domini Sabaoth mobilibus, toto anni spatio currentibus, quae solemniter in Ecclesia Dei celebrantur Continens Antiphonas, Responsoria, Versus, caeteraque ad Vesperas et Matutinum necessaria. Conscriptum Per P[ater] Martinum Rubczynski S[acrae]. Th[eologiae] M[agister] protunc Carmeli Majoris Leopol[densis]. Priorem. Anno D[omi]ni 1744.

The inscription thus states that Fr Rubczyński was a master of Sacred Theology which, in addition to his position as prior of the convent, gave him the necessary intellectual and juridical authority to produce the new manuscripts. As stated on the title page, the contents of CarK13 include the chants for the temporal cycle of the church year, beginning with the first Sunday of Advent on page 1 and extending through the last Sunday after Trinity on page 122, followed by some unrelated Mass ordinary chants on page 124.

Similarly the title page for CarK14 (Rkp. perg. 9) indicates that Fr Rubczyński was responsible for producing the manuscript in 1744 and that it contains chants from the common of the saints. In addition to these common chants, the manuscript includes commemorations, votive antiphons, the office of the Dead (p. 65) and some ordinary Mass chants (p. 82). It also has a two-part (bass and tenor) setting of the antiphon 'Ave stella matutina', reflecting a tradition of polyphonic singing in the convent, and a Mass of St Brocard 'O[rdinis] N[ostri]', for the leader of the original hermits on Mount Carmel, generally known only as 'B' in the earliest documents.

CarK16 (Rkp. perg. 2) begins with a title page, which states that it was compiled under the direction of Fr Rubczyński in 1745, therefore for the Lwów convent, and that it contains sanctoral chants for the church year. The Mass chants for St Albert on folio n.n.^{v} may be a later addition to the manuscript.

The cycle of saints predictably extends from Andrew on 30 November through Clement on 23 November, followed by the Polish saints Adalbert and Stanislaus, chants for thanksgiving, and a Mass of the angels. This is thus the appropriate companion volume to complement CarK13 and CarK14.

In addition to these Lwów antiphonaries, CarK17 (Rkp. perg. 25) is a psalter indicating rubrics, along with hymn and psalm texts for the major liturgies of the Divine Office. Produced in 1747 under the direction of Fr Rubczyński, it provides the necessary texts for these liturgies. Even though the friars were presumably still memorizing the psalms for the office, it nonetheless serves as a useful companion for the antiphonals mentioned above.

Other Liturgical Books and Manuscripts

In addition to the choir books discussed above, other manuscripts and printed books also shaped liturgical practices in the convents of Kraków and Lwów. I have numbered them after the liturgical manuscripts in my inventory of these manuscripts; Jerzy Gołos defined them as 'MS pap'. since they were written on paper rather than parchment. Either copied or owned by individual friars and destined for personal rather than for communal use, these fall into two categories: a) manuscript instructional materials and b) printed liturgical books. In some instance two or more such manuscripts or books were bound into a single volume, making a description of them somewhat more complicated.

Manuscript Instructional Materials. CarK32 (MS pap. 32) is described on its title page as a *Directorium Chori*, referring to a newer instructional book generally promulgated after the Council of Trent. The title page of this volume describes it as a

> Directorium Chori iuxta Ritum Ordinis Fratrum Beatae Dei G[enitricis]. Virginis Mariae Antiq[uae] Reg[ulae] Observantiae Prov[incia]m Pol[oniae] Minoris Continens Instructiones in Cantu Chorali necnon ea quae ad Sacra Officia Cantu persolvenda pertinent. Labore Adm[odum] R[everendi] Patris M[agistri] Bonaventura Kiełkowicz S[acrae] T[heologiae] D[octoris] Ex P[rovincialis] V[icaris] P[rovinciae]: & Prioris Con[ventus] [Cracoviensis] Arenen[sis] ex Diversis Authoribus. Anno D[omi]ni 1739. Collectum ac eodem Anno Fratre Sergio Gałuskiewicz Presbytero Scriptum.

This *directorium chori* is in manuscript form, even though examples of it had been known in published form for some time. Thus Fr Archangelus Paoli, O. Carm. of the Carmine of Florence published what may be the earliest example of

this type of book within the order in 1614.[81] The purpose of this manuscript version must then have been to train the novices and other junior Carmelites in the chant tradition as practised in the Kraków convent. The various chapters of this book cover the theoretical and practical bases for learning Gregorian chant, including a discussion of chant in general, the keys ('de clavibus') used, especially when to use B-flat in the singing of chant, as well as particular tones or formulas for singing the 'Gloria patri', which in turn determine how to sing the verses of the Psalms. In addition it contains the text and music for the *Te Deum* and the Marian antiphons for the various office hours. This little manuscript is thus a compendium of both the theoretical and practical requirements for singing during the liturgy. Nothing further is known about the scribe for the manuscript, Fr Sergio Gałuskiewicz, who obviously worked under the direction of Fr Bonaventura Kiełkowicz. The small dimensions of this manuscript, 26.5 cm. x 22 cm., indicate that it was intended for personal rather than for communal use. Other such manuscripts in the collection relate closely to this one, usually reproducing a part of it. Thus CarK26 (MS pap. 26), described as a *Tractatus de accentis*, shows how to place the metrical accent in the various chants; it also includes *Benedicamus Domino* formulas, selected responsories, some hymns, and incipits organized by tone. CarK27 (MS pap. 27) similarly contains musical and textual incipits for the tonal formulas used in chant, as well as for selected responsories and hymns. The last six pages of this manuscript contain text and music written in what appears to be a student hand, suggesting that training in the practice of copying music as well as singing it was part of a young Carmelite's formation in the Kraków convent. This is even more the case in CarK29, a small devotional book for personal use, evidently written by one of the friars, presumably a novice. CarK35 (MS pap. 35) is described on its title page as 'Concentus Psalmodiae Choralis ad Decantandum Laudem Divinam Accommodatus ac Conscriptus per F. P. Josephum Pleindinger Ordinis Beatae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmeli. Leopoli. Anno 1766', thus stemming from the convent in Lwów. In small print at the bottom of the page is what appears to

[81] *Directorium Chori una cum processionali, iuxta Ordinem, ac Ritum Fratrum B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmeli, continens ea, quae ad sacra officia cantu persolvenda pertinent. Collectum, et in commodam formam redactum per Patrem F. Archangelum Paulium Florentinum eiusdem ordinis, ac Reverendissimi Patris Magistri Sebastiani Fantoni Generalis Carmelitarum, iussu editum* (Naples: Ex Typographia Ioannis Iacobi Carlini, 1614). For a discussion of Archangelus Paoli see James Boyce, O. Carm., 'Carmel in Transition: A Seventeenth-Century Florentine Carmelite Supplement', *Manuscripta*, 39 (1995), 56–69.

be the name O.[jciec] [Fr] Floriani Rzewski (the script is not clear). Nothing further is known about either Fr Joseph Pleindinger or Fr Florian Rzewski. This manuscript contains various formulas for the Divine Office, hymns, and some processional chants. This inscription shows that the practice of copying books for personal devotional use in Lwów paralleled that of Kraków.

Printed Liturgical Books. In addition to devotional manuscripts copied out by individual friars for their personal use, the collection of liturgical books in Kraków includes a number of printed books which were used alongside the manuscript collection in the liturgies of the local Carmelites. Primary among these is a series of processionals, such as the one listed as Book A in the Appendix. This small book, measuring 20 cm. x 15 cm., is a processional for the Carmelite rite printed in Kraków in 1666.[82] This processional includes chants for the Purification of the Virgin (p. 1), Palm Sunday (p. 11), and the dead (p. 61) but also for feasts specific to the Kraków convent, such as the Visitation (p. 51), and to the Carmelite Order, such as St Elias (p. 53) and St Albert (p. 55), including the formula for blessing St Albert's water, a popular devotional custom among the Carmelites and those affiliated with them. It also includes an antiphon for the Carmelite St Andrew Corsini (p. 113). Later processionals, such as Book B, include processional chants for the additional Tridentine feasts that the Carmelites gradually accepted into their liturgy.

These printed books also included instructional materials, such as Book D, a printed *Directorium Chori* from 1768. The printed *Directorium Chori* of the Florentine Carmelite Fr Archangelus Paoli (Book E) was owned by Fr Ladislaus Gołaszewski as late as 1833. Book H is an instructional book for use in the diocese of Kraków, so that the local Carmelites were aware of the practices in the neighbouring diocesan churches, although they did not follow them.[83]

These printed books and manuscript instructional works remind us that the study and practice of liturgy continued to be important to the Carmelites throughout the eighteenth century. One may safely conclude that if liturgical

[82] This date of publication is rather awkward: the title page gives the date as 1666 while at the end of the book, on p. 114, the indication is 'Cracoviae. Typis Universitatis. A[nno]. 1682'. Probably the original printing patent dates to 1666 but the reprint by the university was done in 1682.

[83] This may be the book in the collection that caused Płonka-Bałus to assert, erroneously in my opinion, that the original choir books, CarK1, CarK2, and Wro, only were brought to Kraków during the middle of the fifteenth century. See Chapter 3 above for this discussion.

books were being acquired, studied and copied in the early-modern era, such a practice existed throughout the Middle Ages as well. If the liturgical legislation for the medieval period described in Chapter 2 emphasized the importance of liturgical study and practice in all the convents of the order, the surviving manuscripts and books from the Kraków collection indicate that this legislation was taken very seriously on the local level of the Kraków convent, and presumably throughout the rest of the order as well. These smaller books and manuscripts thus complement the larger ones which form the locus of this study and indicate that the individual Carmelites appropriated into their personal spirituality the daily liturgical practices of the community as a whole.

Part II: The Tridentine Carmelite Liturgy

The Tridentine Temporal cycle

CarK13 contains the complete temporal cycle for the year as practised in Lwów and thus is more or less a counterpart to CarK11 for Kraków. Following the Carmelite tradition, Sundays are numbered after Trinity rather than after Pentecost, as the rubric on page 101, 'Dom[inica] 2 post Trinit[atem]', or the second Sunday after Trinity, illustrates. In order to compare Roman and Carmelite practices in greater detail, we compare the chants for three temporal occasions: a) the second Sunday of Advent; b) Magnificat antiphons for the third week of Lent; and c) the Magnificat and Lauds antiphons for the Sundays after Trinity .

The Second Sunday of Advent. Table 18 shows the chants for the second Sunday of Advent as they occur in CarK11, CarK13, Sibert's ordinal, and the Tridentine Roman breviary, with the appropriate page number where the text incipits occur;[84] an asterisk indicates where a different text from the Carmelite practice is used in the Roman version.

[84] In the Roman breviary (*Breviarium Romanum*, ed. by Sodi and others) we use the page numbers according to the modern edition, not those in the original version; thus for example p. 157 in the modern edition is the same as p. 127 in the original.

Table 18: Chants for the Second Sunday in Advent

Chant	Incipit	CarK11	CarK13	Sibert	Rome
1V M	Veni Domine et noli tardare	5	4	112	153*[85]
L a1	Ecce in nubibus caeli	5	4	112	156
L a2	Urbs fortitudinis nostrae		5	112	156
2V M	Beata es virgo Maria	6	5	113	156
Fer 2 M	Ecce rex veniet terrae	6	5	113	157
Fer 3 M	Vox clamantis in deserto	6	6	113	158
Fer 4 M	Sion renovaberis	6	6	113	159
Fer 5 M	Qui post me veniet	7	6	113	159
Fer 6 M	Cantate Domino canticum	7	6	113	160
Sab. M	Ante me non est formatus	8	7	113	161

Predictably these Carmelite antiphons agree between the two Kraków Carmelite manuscripts, originally used in Kraków and Lwów respectively, and with the prescriptions of Sibert's ordinal; thus the Carmelites changed neither the pieces nor their order for this early-modern liturgical occasion. Since these chants were standardized among the various rites, Carmelite usage generally agrees with Roman practice. Nonetheless, the first Vespers antiphon is different between Carmelite and Roman usage, 'Veni Domine et noli tardare' in Carmelite manuscripts and 'Veni visitare nos' in the Roman breviary.

Magnificat Antiphons for the Third Week of Lent. The Magnificat antiphons for second Vespers of the third Sunday of Lent and the following weekdays form another sampling for comparison among Carmelite sources and between Carmelite and Roman usages. Chants for this liturgical occasion, shown in Table 19, generally agree among all the sources. Nonetheless the Carmelites replaced the old 'Panis quem' antiphon from Sibert's ordinal with the preferred Roman version, 'Omnes qui habebant' for Thursday in the third week of Lent. For two other days they digressed from the Roman rite, preferring 'Non dico tibi septies' to 'Ubo duo vel tres' for Tuesday, and 'Veri adoratores' to 'Domine ut video' for Friday. Thus while they made some concessions to the

[85] 'Veni visitare nos' in Roman usage.

Roman rite, their revision of their own tradition still preserved much of their distinctive rite in the Magnificat antiphons for this week in Lent.

Table 19: Second Vespers Magnificat Antiphons for the Third Sunday of Lent

Chant	Incipit	CarK11	CarK13	Sibert	Rome
2V M	Extollens vocem	67	53	151	335
Fer 2 M	Jesus autem transiens	67	54	151	336
Fer 3 M	Non dico tibi septies	68	54	151	338*1
Fer 4 M	Non lotis manibus	68	54	151	339
Fer 5 M	Omnes qui habebant	68	54	151*2	340
Fer 6 M	Veri adoratores	68	54	152	341*3
Sab. M	Nemo te condemnavit	70	54		

*1 Ubo duo vel tres
*2 Panis quem
*3 Domine ut video

The Magnificat and Lauds Antiphons for the Sundays after Trinity (1–10). The antiphons used for the Benedictus and Magnificat canticles for the first ten Sundays after Trinity illustrate the differences between Carmelite and Roman usage during this time. Table 20 shows that the general structure of the Benedictus and Magnificat chants for the time after Trinity Sunday was different between Carmelite and Roman usages and that the Carmelites continued to follow the directives established by Sibert de Beka after the Council of Trent. Thus in the 'chant' column the number indicates the Sunday after Trinity in the Carmelite rite while the number in parentheses in the right hand column indicates the Sunday after the octave of Pentecost in the Roman rite. After the fifth Sunday after Trinity the Sundays are a week later in the Carmelite rite than they are in the Roman. In addition, the chants with an asterisk show the differences in the Roman tradition from those selected for the Carmelite usage. Even though Tridentine Carmelite manuscripts tend to show only the Magnificat antiphons, this is sufficient to establish that there were fundamental differences between the two usages.

Table 20: Benedictus and Magnificat Canticles for the First Ten Sundays after Trinity

Chant	Incipit	CarK11	CarK13	Sibert	Rome
1 B	Homo quidam erat			200	
1 M	Pater Abraham			201	
2 B	Homo quidam fecit			201	498
2 M	Exi cito	137	101	201	498
3 B	Quis ex vobis			201	683 (3)
3 M	Quae mulier habens		102	201	683 (3)
4 B	Estote misericordes			201	
4 M	Nolite judicare	140	103	201	
5 B	Ascendens Jesus			201	684 (4)
5 M	Praeceptor	140	104	201	684 (4)
6 B	Amen dico vobis			201	685*2 (5)
6 M	Si offers	141	104	201	685 (5)
7 B	Misereor super			201	686*3 (6)
7 M	Et accipiens	142	105	201	686*4 (6)
8 B	Attendite			201	687 (7)
8 M	Non potest arbor	142	106	202	687 (7)
9 B	Dixit Dominus villico			202	688 (8)
9 M	Ait autem vilicus	143	106	202	688*1 (8)
10 B	Cum appropinquaret		107	202	688 (9)
10 M	Scriptum est	144		202	688 (9)

*1 Mainz Carmelite codex D: Quid faciam
*2 Audistis quia
*3 Cum turba
*4 Misereor super

The Sanctoral Cycle

Despite the elimination of some feasts like the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (6 October), the Three Marys (25 May), and the Commemoration of the Resurrection (last Sunday of the year) from their medieval liturgy, after the Council of Trent the Carmelites availed themselves of the opportunity to

observe newer feasts pertinent to their tradition as well as to revise standard ones. These feasts, shown in our Table 21 along with the codex and folio/page number where each feast begins, can be grouped into the following categories: a) established feasts; b) feasts in honour of the Virgin Mary; c) pre-Tridentine Carmelite feasts occurring only in Tridentine Manuscripts; d) Swedish and Polish saints; and e) proper Carmelite feasts.

Table 21: Carmelite Feasts in the Tridentine Liturgy

a) Established feasts

Feast	Sources
St Mary Magdalene	CarK1:81; CarK3:114^{v}; CarK7:45v; CarK7:137^{v}; CarK12:44; CarK16:72; CarK18:92; CarK22:7^{v}; CarK25:117
St Cajetan	CarK12:50; CarK16:79
St Cleophas	CarK7:149^{v}; CarK12:60; CarK16:92; CarK25:136^{v}
St Wenceslaus	CarK8:21
St Anne	CarK1:94; CarK3:117; CarK7:45^{v},138; CarK12:47; CarK16:74; CarK18:92; CarK25:118^{v}; CarKB:123
St Joachim	CarK7:109; CarK12:23; CarK19:50
Transfiguration	CarK1:123; CarK3:122; CarK7:139; CarK12:47; CarK16:75; CarK18:93; CarK25:118^{v}
Feast of the Holy Sepulchre	CarK12:96

b) Feasts in honour of the Virgin Mary

Feast	Sources
Our Lady of the Snows	CarK7:45^{v}; CarK16:75; CarK18:93; CarK25:136^{v}
Our Lady of Mercy	CarK18:99
Holy Name of Mary	CarK18:98; CarK19:68
Betrothal of BVM	CarK18:70
Seven Sorrows of BVM	CarK18:80; CarK22;6^{v}; CarKB:106
Purification of BVM	CarK2:248; CarK5:124; CarK16:23; CarK18:72; CarK21:77; CarK25:95^{v}; CarK32:1; CarKB:1
Visitation	CarK1:77; CarK3:111; CarK7:45; CarK7:133; CarK16:65; CarK18:90; CarK25:112; CarK32:51; CarKA:51
Annunciation	CarK2:5^{v}; CarK5:136^{v}; CarK7:109^{v}; CarK16:36; CarK18:79; CarK21:81; CarK25:97^{v}
Nativity	CarK1:192; CarK3:145^{v}; CarK7:46; CarK7:148; CarK16:90; CarK18:98; CarK21:124; CarK25:127^{v}

Assumption	CarK1:145; CarK3:130; CarK7:45^{v}; CarK7:145^{v}; CarK16:82; CarK18:96; CarK21:110; CarK22:11; CarK25:123; CarK32:57; CarKA:57; CarKB:56
Conception of BVM	CarK2:206; CarK5:96^{v}; CarK16:6; CarK18:65; CarK18:124; CarK21:51; CarK25:86^{v}
Presentation BVM	CarK7:46; CarK7:159; CarK28:19
Expectation of BVM	CarK16:13

c) Pre-Tridentine Carmelite feasts occurring only in Tridentine manuscripts

St Elias	CarK1:382; CarK3:190; CarK7:135; CarK8:38; CarK16:69; CarK18:60; CarK18:90; CarK19:98; CarK25:114^{v}; CarK32:53; CarKA:53; CarKB:120
St Eliseus	CarK1:374; CarK3:192^{v}; CarK7:123^{v}; CarK16:54; CarK18:85; CarK19:110; CarK21:105; CarK25:104
St Albert of Sicily	CarK1:387; CarK7:112; CarK7:140^{v}; CarK16:nn^{v},* 77; CarK18:94; CarK25:119^{v}; CarK32:56; CarKA:55
Our Lady of Mount Carmel	CarK7:45^{v}; CarK7:134^{v}; CarK7:138^{v}; CarK16:66; CarK18:90; CarK19:141; CarK25:112^{v}

d) Swedish saints

St Sigfridus	CarK1:396
St Olaf	CarK1:399
St Helen	CarK1:400
St Birgitta	CarK1:401; CarK7:151^{v}
St Henry	CarK1:394
St Ansgar	CarK1:395
St Eskil	CarK1:399

e) Polish saints

St Adalbert	CarK1:370; CarK3:195^{v}; CarK8:18; CarK12:92; CarK16:111; CarK21:89; CarK25:99
St Florian	CarK1:372; CarK12:93; CarK21:93; CarK25:101^{v}
St Stanislaus	CarK1:372; CarK3:196^{v}; CarK3:204^{v}; CarK7:118; CarK8:19; CarK12:94; CarK16:112; CarK18:84; CarK21:93; CarK25:102
St Hedwig	CarK7:46

f) Proper Carmelite feasts

St Andrew Corsini	CarK7:85v; CarK16:25; CarK18:74; CarK18:112; CarK19:43; CarK21:76; CarKA:113; CarKB:112
St Avertanus	CarK7:107
St Simon Stock	CarK7:119v; CarK16:48; CarK18:84; CarK19:60
St Cyril	CarK7:107; CarK18:105
St Teresa of Avila	CarK7:151v; CarK16:97; CarK18:102; CarK19:137, 139; CarKB:128
Transverberation of St Teresa	CarK16:84
St Serapion	CarK7:152
St Euphrasia	CarK7:108
St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi	CarK7:120; CarK16:51; CarK18:84; CarK19:64;CarK33:39; CarKB:116
St Angelus	CarK7:45; CarK7:46v; CarK7:116v; CarK16:45; CarK18:84; CarK19:55; CarKB:115
St Berthold	CarK18:62; CarK18:122
St Brocard	CarK14:nn*; CarK22:24
All Carmelite Saints	CarK19:36

*nn=unnumbered

Established Feasts. Certain feasts in the medieval tradition were especially important to the Carmelites, as we have discussed in Chapter 3. We single out for discussion here three of these previously examined feasts, 1) St Mary Magdalene, 2) St Anne, and 3) the Transfiguration before speaking about 4) occasional other feasts.

St Mary Magdalene.

The importance of St Mary Magdalene to the liturgy of the medieval church, particularly in France, the significance of her role in proclaiming the resurrection, making her especially important in the liturgies of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Carmelites, and her association with the Three Marys, a prominent devotion in the Carmelite tradition, all rendered her feast very prominent in the medieval Carmelite liturgy, as we have discussed in Chapter 3, where we listed the chants for the feast in Table 11. This table shows that the feast occurs in medieval manuscripts, CarK1 and CarK3 and in the eighteenth-century manuscripts CarK12, CarK16, and CarK25. A printed Carmelite

breviary from 1683[86] illustrates the office of St Mary Magdalene as celebrated in the Order after the Council of Trent, which in turn can be compared against the published Roman breviary of 1568. While the feast is a *duplex* in Sibert's ordinal (p. 234) and in the calendar of the Roman breviary (p. 17), in the 1683 breviary it is a *duplex minus* (p. 457), or minor doubles feast, as revised by the Council of Trent. Sibert prescribes that the first Vespers antiphons and psalms should follow those of the day ('secundum feriam') while the 1683 breviary prescribes the first antiphon as 'Solemnitatem'. This chant predictably occurs in the three later antiphonals but not in the medieval ones. The first Vespers reading is 'Mulierem fortem' in Sibert's ordinal and in the Roman breviary (p. 817) and 'In lectulo meo per noctes' in the 1683 breviary. The responsory is 'Felix Maria' in Sibert's ordinal and 'Regnum mundi' in the 1683 breviary. 'Felix Maria' occurs in the medieval sources but not in the later codices. 'Regnum mundi' does not seem to be used here. The same hymn, 'Lauda mater ecclesia', is used in all three sources, with the same versicle 'Optimam partem', Magnificat antiphon 'Recumbente Jesu', and prayer 'Largire nobis' (Sibert's ordinal, p. 235, Carmelite breviary, p. 257) in both Carmelite sources as well, while the Roman breviary prefers the versicle, 'Diffusa est gratia', the Magnificat antiphon 'In diebus illis mulier' and the prayer, 'Beatae Mariae Magdalenae'. 'Recumbente Jesu' is used in all five sources.

The Matins hymn is 'Nardi Maria pistici' in the Carmelite (p. 458) and Roman (p. 818) breviaries and 'Aeterni patris' in Sibert's ordinal (p. 235). The ninth responsory is 'Dum transisset/Et valde' in Sibert's ordinal (p. 235) and 'Regnum mundi/ Eructavit' in the Carmelite breviary (p. 461), while the Roman breviary does not specify any particular responsory. All the other Matins chants are the same between the medieval and the Tridentine Carmelite traditions, so that it is entirely probable that the Kraków Carmelites simply continued to chant Matins in the old style, probably with the substitution of these few pieces where appropriate. This explains why proper Matins chants are absent from the later codices. The great responsories for Matins in the Roman breviary are entirely different from those in the Carmelite tradition. Thus the

[86] *Breviarium fratrum B. Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmeli iuxta Hierosolymitanae Ecclesiae antiquam Consuetudinem Capituli Generalis Decreto ad normam Breviarij Romani directum: & Reverendissimi P[atris] Magistri Angeli Monsignani Prioris Generalis Iussu denuo recognitum & correctum cum Officiis Sanctorum pro tota Ecclesia ordinatis, & alius eidem Ordini concessis usque ad Sanctiss[imum] D[ominum] N[ostrum] Innocentium XI*, Pars Aestivalis (Antwerp: Ex Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1683).

Carmelites continued to celebrate the office of St Mary Magdalene in its medieval format throughout the Tridentine era despite the radically different format for celebrating Matins in the Roman breviary.

The same five Lauds antiphons, beginning with 'Laudibus' and its series of antiphons and the Benedictus antiphon 'Maria stabat', are common to Sibert's ordinal (p. 235) and the 1683 Carmelite breviary (p. 461), while the Roman breviary prefers the series beginning with 'Dum esset rex' for the Lauds antiphons and the antiphon 'Maria unxit pedes' for the Benedictus canticle. As in first Vespers, the Lauds reading is 'Mulierem fortem' in Sibert's ordinal and in the Roman breviary (p. 820), and 'In lectulo' in the later Carmelite breviary. The hymn 'Lauda mater' is prescribed in Sibert's ordinal while 'Aeterni patris' is used in the Carmelite (p. 461) and Roman (p. 820) breviaries. For second Vespers the Lauds antiphons are repeated, along with the Magnificat antiphon 'Celsi meriti' in both medieval (Sibert's ordinal, p. 235) and Tridentine (Carmelite breviary, p. 462) Carmelite traditions, in contrast to the Roman breviary, which used 'Mulier quem erat' (p. 820) instead. Thus those chants which occur in the later Kraków choir books are generally updated versions of older medieval Carmelite chants or are newly inserted pieces in order to supplement the medieval tradition. In general, then, the chants prescribed for this feast in the Roman rite are distinct from both medieval and Tridentine Carmelite practice. This suggests that the Kraków Carmelites considered their medieval office liturgy of St Mary Magdalene distinctive enough that they preserved it in the Tridentine era.

St Anne.

The Tridentine Carmelite office of St Anne is of particular interest since the Roman breviary of 1568 still did not include the feast at all. As has been discussed in Chapter 3, some chants from the office of St Anne were reworked so that they could continue to be used after the Council of Trent. In addition, later manuscripts contain some limited chants in honour of St Anne. Thus CarK12:47 and CarK16:74 have the single chant 'Anna parens sublimis' to be sung for the Magnificat for first and second Vespers.[87] CarK25, folio 118^{v} lists both the chants 'Anna parens sublimis' and 'O Anna matrona' as the Magnificat antiphons for Vespers. A rubric at the bottom of CarK18:92 prescribes the Mass chants for St Anne as the introit 'Gaudeamus', following the 'Gaudeamus'

[87] The rubric on p. 47 reads: 'In Festo S. Annae in utrisque Vesp[eri]s. Ad Mag[nificat]' so that it could be used for either first or second Vespers or both.

introit for the Conception of the Virgin, and the verse 'Diffusa est' as in the commons. A rubric on folio 138 of CarK7, the gradual, prescribes the Introit 'Gaudeamus', the Gradual 'Propter veritatem', the 'Alleluia, v. Diffusa est gratia', the Offertory 'Filiae Regum', and the Communion 'Dilexisti iustitiam', including music for the last piece.

The rubrics for St Anne in the 1683 Carmelite breviary (p. 467)[88] prescribe this feast as a major doubles, with everything being taken from the common of a holy woman (*matrona*), as Sibert had originally prescribed in 1312, except where otherwise specified. For first Vespers the antiphons are combined with the 'Laudate' series of psalm readings for Sunday, except for the last psalm, which is 'Lauda Jerusalem'. A rubric then prescribes the Magnificat antiphon as 'Anna parens sublimis', the prayer 'Deus qui beatae Anna', and a commemorative prayer for St James, since it is the evening (second Vespers) of his feast (25 July). After indicating which readings are to be used for the nocturns, the Carmelite breviary prescribes the following great responsories: 'Audi filia' (R4), 'Specie tua' (R5 p. 468), 'In sanctitate' (R6), 'Veni electa' (R7), 'Regnum mundi' (R8 p. 469), and 'O mater' (R9). The Benedictus antiphon is designated as 'Anna matrona nobilis' and the second Vespers Magnificat antiphon is 'Anna parens' (p. 469).

The chants prescribed by the 1683 Carmelite breviary could easily be found in the older Kraków manuscripts, although not necessarily as part of the liturgy for St Anne. The palimpsest text of 'O Anna matrona' over the original rhymed 'Gaude Sion filie laudantes' in CarK1, p. 94 indicates that the new legislation was at least somewhat enforced in Kraków. One presumes that the Kraków Carmelite celebration of the feast conformed to the directives of the new Carmelite breviary, but the presence of the older chants in the manuscripts still allowed the local Carmelites to include some of the older antiphons and responsories of the rhymed office in their celebrations if they so desired. Thus while the canticle chants 'Anna matrona nobilis' and 'Anna parens' were obviously proper to St Anne's feast, even if the more standard chants replaced the medieval rhymed office, their celebration of the feast remained distinctive, since it was not celebrated at all in the Tridentine Roman tradition.

[88] 'In festo S. Annae Matris Virginis Mariae, & Protectricis Ordinis. Duplex maius. Omnia de Communi unius Matronae. lxxxv. exceptis, quae hic signantur. In primis Vesperis, Antiphonae, Laud. Psalmis de Dominica, sed loco vltimi dicitur, Lauda Jerusalem'.

Transfiguration.

We have seen that the feast of the Transfiguration figured prominently in the medieval Carmelite liturgy, both because of its Holy Land site, since it took place on Mount Tabor, and its theology of the resurrection, since it depicts Moses and Elijah with Jesus as living figures. By the time of the Council of Trent this feast had entered most of the major western traditions and had become standardized in the Roman rite. Thus chants for the feast occur in both medieval and Tridentine Kraków Carmelite manuscripts.[89] Thus CarK7 contains the proper Mass chants, 'Illuxerunt corruscationem', (Introit), 'Speciosus forma/ Eructavit cor' (Gradual), 'Alleluia, v. Candor est lucis' (Alleluia), 'Gloria et divitiae' (Offertory), and 'Visionem quam vidistis' (Communion) which follow the Roman Missal of 1570.[90] These chants are different from those listed in Sibert's ordinal, which prescribes that the early morning Mass ('missa matutinalis') follow the Sunday liturgy if falling on Sunday, the Saturday commemoration of Mary if occurring on Saturday or the feast of St Sixtus if occurring on any other day.[91] The chants prescribed for High Mass ('Ad magnam missam') in Sibert's ordinal are Introit: 'Dominus dixit', Gradual: 'Tecum principium', Alleluia: v. 'Dies sanctificatus', Offertory: 'Deus enim firmavit', and Communion: 'In splendoribus',[92] thus entirely different from Carmelite usage after Trent. Thus for the Mass chants the Carmelites adopted the Roman usage, perhaps because of the public nature of the Mass, or to minimize confusion with the practices of other local churches, or because they considered the Roman texts more suitable for the Transfiguration feast than their own medieval ones.

The Divine Office, though, was an entirely different situation. Thus CarK12 contains the Magnificat antiphon 'Visionem quam vidistis' (1683 Carmelite breviary, p. 490) while the Roman counterpart is 'Christus Jesus, splendor patris' (1568 Roman breviary, p. 835); the Carmelite Lauds chants are 'Cum transfiguraretur Jesus', 'Tunc Petrus dixit', 'Adhuc eo loquente', 'De qua vox' and 'Nubes lucida obumbravit eos' (1683 Carmelite breviary, p. 494, which also has the Benedictus antiphon 'Ante duos vates' on p. 495), and the second

[89] Specifically, these chants occur in CarK1:123; CarK3:122; CarK7:139; CarK12:47; CarK16:75; CarK18:93; CarK25:118v.

[90] *Missale Romanum, Editio Princeps*, ed. by Manlio Sodi and Achille Maria Triacca (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticano, 1998), pp. 524–25.

[91] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 238.

[92] *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 238.

Vespers Magnificat antiphon 'Hodie Dominus facie ut sol' (1683 Carmelite breviary, p. 496); 'Hodie Dominus Jesus Christus facie' is used in the breviary as a commemoration of the Transfiguration, since the evening begins first Vespers for St Albert on the following day, 7 August. The corresponding Lauds chants in the Roman breviary are 'Assumpsit Jesus Petrum', 'Resplenduit facies', 'Et ecce apparuerunt' (p. 808), 'Respondens autem Petrus', and 'Adhuc eo loquente' (p. 809), with the Benedictus antiphon 'Et ecce vox de nube' and the Magnificat antiphon for second Vespers 'Et audientes discipuli' (p. 809). Thus the Carmelites in the early-modern period preserved the medieval office chants, which thus remained completely distinct from the Roman version as promulgated in the 1568 Roman breviary, while they conformed to Roman usage in their choice of Mass chants.

Occasional Other Feasts.

In addition to these three major feasts, small celebrations either survived into the Tridentine era or were specifically established after Trent. Thus the medieval Carmelite feast of St Cleophas, generally viewed as the disciple to whom the Lord appeared on the road to Emmaus, is represented in several of the later manuscripts.[93] The 1683 Carmelite breviary stipulated (p. 580) that it should be celebrated as a *semiduplex* feast with the Magnificat antiphons 'Jesus junxit se discipulis' and 'Tu solus peregrinus es' for first and second Vespers respectively, and with the Benedictus antiphon, 'Qui sunt hi sermones' (p. 581), which is duly followed in CarK12:60–61, CarK16:92–93, and CarK25:136v–37. (The rubric for 'Tu solus peregrinus' in CarK25 indicates that this chant is to be found in the chants for the Monday after Easter.) Mass chants for St Cleophas are prescribed in CarK7, folio 149v, with rubrics stipulating the following chants, all in common use: Introit: 'Laetabitur', Gradual: 'Beatus vir', 'Alleluia, v. Nonne cor', Offertory: 'Gloria', and Communion: 'Posuisti'.

The office of St Wenceslaus, which had been celebrated with a complete rhymed office in CarK1, occurs in CarK8 but using standard chants. That it was used at all after the Council of Trent is presumably in deference to the Prague origins of the Kraków Carmelites and to the Kraków diocesan tradition of observing the feast, since it does not occur in the 1683 Carmelite breviary. CarK12 contains a reference to a specific feast of the Holy Sepulchre, an otherwise unknown feast in the Carmelite and Roman traditions.

[93] Chants for St Cleophas occur in CarK7:149v; CarK12:60; CarK16:92; CarK25:136v.

Feasts in Honour of the Virgin Mary. The publication of the Roman breviary after the Council of Trent[94] standardized the celebration of all major feasts, including those honouring the Virgin Mary. Given the well-established tradition of Marian devotion in the medieval Carmelite liturgy, chants with music for all the major Marian feasts were already in the choir books of each convent; the Carmelites revised their liturgies for the Marian feasts in order to continue this well-established tradition effectively. Here we will discuss five prominent feasts of theVirgin Mary, namely 1) the Annunciation, 2) the Conception of the Virgin, 3) the Presentation, 4) the Visitation, and 5) Our Lady of the Snows, to illustrate this revision.

The Annunciation.

The Tridentine choir books CarK16, CarK18, CarK21, and CarK25 include chants for the Annunciation. CarK18:81 and CarK25:97ᵛ feature 'Haec est regina' as the opening antiphon for first Vespers, thus preserving the medieval custom of first Vespers antiphons into the Tridentine era. All the chant incipits are consistent with the Carmelite breviary published in 1700.[95] The Magnificat antiphon, however, is 'Spiritus sanctus descendet in te',[96] following the revised Carmelite breviary instead of 'Ingressus' as in Sibert's ordinal and the medieval tradition. The invitatory antiphon, 'Ave Maria gratia' also follows medieval practice; none of the later manuscripts include the Matins chants, suggesting that the local Carmelites simply continued to use the medieval manuscripts for the purpose. The Lauds antiphons in the Tridentine manuscripts, 'Missus est', 'Ave Maria', 'Ne timeas', 'Dabit illi', and 'Ecce ancilla', followed by 'Quomodo fiet' as the Benedictus antiphon, differ from medieval Carmelite practice and agree with the published Trent breviary (pp. 758–59),

[94] *Breviarium Romanum*, ed. by Sodi and others.

[95] *Breviarium fratrum Ordinis B.mae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmeli juxta Hierosolymitanae Ecclesia antiquam consuetudinem Capituli Generalis Decreto ad normam Breviarii Romani directum, Authoritate Apostolica approbatum, et Reverendissimi P. Magistri Caroli Philiberti Barberii Totius Ordinis Prioris Generalis jussu denuo recognitum, correctum & impressum. Cum Officiis Sanctorum pro tota Ecclesia ordinatis, & aliis eisdem Ordini concessis usque ad Sanctissimum D. N. Innocentiam XII*, Pars Hyemalis (Venice: Cieras, 1700).

[96] 'Spiritus sanctus superveniet in te': *Breviarium fratrum Ordinis*, p. 666.

but 'O virgo virginum', the second Vespers Magnificat antiphon, (CarK25:98–98v) follows medieval Carmelite practice (Sibert, p. 218).[97]

All of the chants used to celebrate the feast of the Annunciation, both in medieval and Tridentine Carmelite practice, are standard Marian chants rather than either rhymed office antiphons or chants in any way unique to Carmelite practice. By preserving the same first Vespers chants after the Council of Trent the Kraków Carmelites established a link to their medieval past; by adopting the Lauds chants of the Roman breviary they accommodated their liturgy to reformed Tridentine practice. Thus their combination of the older Vespers antiphons with the newer Lauds ones enabled them to accommodate their own tradition, to accept the newly legislated requirements and, in the process, to have a distinctive liturgy for this feast.

The Conception of the Virgin.

Despite the involvement of the Carmelites in preaching the Immaculate Conception, the medieval Carmelite liturgy preferred to use standard Marian antiphons and responsories rather than a special rhymed office to celebrate the feast, as discussed in Chapter 3. Tridentine office chants for the Conception feast occur in CarK16 and CarK21, with the version in CarK16 being better preserved than that from CarK21. Here too, as in the Annunciation feast, the Carmelites compromised between their medieval celebration and the new prescriptions of the revised Roman breviary. Thus the first Vespers antiphons are the series 'Haec est regina', 'Te decus virgineum', 'Sub tuum praesidium', 'Sancta Maria succurre', and 'Beata Dei genitrix', (CarK16:6–11 and CarK21:51–55) as in the medieval practice. The model for such chants is the Tridentine Carmelite breviary published in 1700, which contains their complete texts.[98] The Roman Tridentine breviary prescribes for first Vespers that the antiphons follow the Nativity of Mary, with the word 'nativitas' changed to 'conceptio' where appropriate.[99] Thus the Magnificat antiphon, 'Gloriosae Virginis Mariae' (CarK16:9; CarK21:53),[100] follows the Tridentine Carmelite breviary for the Nativity of Mary, which in this case is simply

[97] These are consistent with *Breviarium fratrum Ordinis*, p. 666.

[98] These are found in *Breviarium fratrum Ordinis*, p. 530.

[99] *Breviarium Romanum*, ed. by Sodi and others, p. 715 [685]: 'Omnia praeter lectiones primi & secundi noctur[ni] dicuuntur ut in Nativitate eiusdem mutato nomine Nativitatis in nomen Conceptionis'.

[100] *Breviarium fratrum Ordinis*, p. 530.

complying with the prescription of the Roman breviary. Chants for this feast occur in the Tridentine Carmelite breviary of 1700, which contains all these first Vespers antiphons, including the Magnificat chant. The Matins chants in this breviary differ from medieval Carmelite tradition; thus the Invitatory chant is 'Conceptionem Virginis Mariae celebremus', with the first three antiphons being 'Hodie concepta est', Beatissimae Virginis Mariae conceptionem', and 'Quando concepta est', followed by the first responsory, 'Hodie concepta est/v. Beatissimae Virginis Mariae conceptionem'.[101] The Lauds antiphons in the Tridentine Carmelite breviary of 1700 are 'Conceptio gloriosae Virginis', 'Conceptio est hodie', 'Regali ex progenie', 'Corde et animo Christo', and 'Cum iucunditate conceptionem',[102] with the Benedictus antiphon being 'Conceptionem hodiernam perpetuae' and the Magnificat antiphon for second Vespers being 'Conceptio tua Dei genitrix'.[103] The Carmelites probably accepted these Roman Conception chants since they were more specific to the feast than were their own medieval texts.

For the feast of the Conception the Carmelites preserved their medieval heritage into the Tridentine era by keeping the first Vespers antiphons intact, and conformed to the Tridentine directives by using the Roman Lauds texts, appropriately adapted for the feast of the Conception. Since none of the Kraków Carmelite manuscripts contain the Matins chants, it is impossible to know whether they continued to use the medieval manuscripts for these chants or whether they followed the changes inaugurated by the Council of Trent and officially accepted them into the Carmelite liturgy. The combination of older and proper Vespers chants with the newer approved Lauds antiphons continued to establish a unique Carmelite celebration for this Conception feast.

The Presentation of Mary in the Temple.

The feast of the Presentation of Mary on 21 November occurs in the 1683 breviary (summer half) as a major doubles (*duplex maius*) feast and predictably begins with the standard first Vespers Marian antiphons, 'Haec est regina' and its series.[104] The first three Matins readings are taken from the Song of Songs; the fourth, fifth, and sixth readings are taken from a book of St Ambrose on

[101] *Breviarium fratrum Ordinis*, p. 531.

[102] *Breviarium fratrum Ordinis*, p. 534.

[103] *Breviarium fratrum Ordinis*, p. 535.

[104] *Breviarium fratrum B. Virginis*, p. 661–63.

Virgins, the seventh reading begins with the genealogy from Matthew's Gospel and is followed by a homily of St John Damascene from his fourth book on the Orthodox faith:

Lectio vii (p. 663)

Quod Joseph ex Davidica tribu descenderit, Matthaeus, & Lucas sacratissimi Evangelistae dilucide monstrarunt. Sanctae vero Virginis generationem ambo siluerunt. Decet autem scire non fuisse morem Hebraeis, neque divinae Scripturae, genealogias texere mulierum. Nam lex fuit, tribum non desponsare ex alia tribu: Atqui Joseph ex Davidica descendit tribu, & iustus erat: hoc enim de ipso divinum testatur Evangelium: non igitur praeter legem, sanctam Virginem ad desponsationem duxisset, nisi ex eius sceptro descendisset. Cum igitur ostenderit Evangelista descensum Ioseph satis factum esse putandum est.

Lesson 7

The most holy evangelists Matthew and Luke clearly show that Joseph descended from the tribe of David. However, both say nothing about the origin of the holy Virgin. Now it is important to know that it was not the custom for the Hebrews, nor for the divine Scriptures, to construct female genealogies. For the rule was that someone from one tribe should not marry someone from another tribe: now Joseph descended from the tribe of David and was a just man: for the holy Gospel itself testifies to this. He would not, therefore, have married the holy Virgin outside the law, unless she too had descended from his royal line. When therefore the Evangelist shows the lineage of Joseph, it must be understood that enough has been done.

Lectio viii.

Ex serie igitur Nathan filii David, Levi genuit Melohi, & Pantherem, Panther genuit Barpantherem, sic ab eo denominatum. Hic Barpanther genuit Ioachim: Ioachim vero genuit sanctam Deiparam: Ioachim ergo venerandam, & dignam laude Annam in matrimonium duxit. Sed quemadmodum vetus Anna sterilis facta, per votum & repromissionem habuit Samuelem; hunc in modum & haec per supplicationem, & repromissionem a Deo Deiparam profert: ut & in hoc nulla illustrium, & gloriosarum posterior habeatur.

Lesson 8

Therefore, from the line of Nathan, son of David, Levi was the father of Melohi and Panther, Panther was the father of Barpanther (son of Panther), who was named after him. This Barpanther was the father of Joachim; now Joachim was the father of the holy mother of God: Joachim then married Anna, who was worthy of being loved and highly to be praised. But just as the elderly Hannah, who had been sterile, had Samuel as the result of her vow and its promise, in the same manner

she, through her prayer and God's promise, brought forth the mother of God, such that as a result of this no one who would come later would be considered more illustrious and glorious.

Lectio ix

Parit ergo gratia (Anna enim hoc interpretatur) Dominam: quod profecto indicat Mariae nomen. Nam revera Domina facta est omnium creaturarum, cum Conditoris omnium effecta est mater. Editur partu in domo ouilis Ioachim, & adducitur in templum. Deinde in domo Domini plantata, & impinguata Spiritu, veluti oliva fructifera, omnis virtutis habitaculum facta est ab omni saeculari vita, & carnali concupiscentia procul mentem sequestrans, & sic virginem animam cum corpore conservans, ut decebat eam, quae in sinu Deum susceptura esset. Sanctus enim existens, in sanctis requiescit. Sic igitur sanctificationem omnem exercet, & templum sanctum, & admirabile altissimi Dei digne demonstratur.

Lesson 9

By grace, then, (for thus is 'Anna' interpreted) she gave birth to the mistress [Virgin] and when this had taken place, she indicated that her name was to be Mary. For indeed she became the mistress of all creatures, since she was made the mother of the creator. The child was brought forth in the house of Joachim the shepherd and was brought into the temple. Thereafter she was planted in the house of the Lord and filled with the spirit; like a fruitful olive tree she became the dwelling-place of every virtue, sheltering her mind far from all worldly living and carnal temptation; and in this way, keeping her soul virginal along with her body, so that it would befit her who would receive God upon her lap. Being holy himself, he dwells among the saints. Therefore she undertook every sort of sanctification and showed [herself] a temple, holy and admirable, worthy of the most high God.

This homily of St John Damascene is obviously based on texts which were not accepted as canonical by the Council of Trent. They nonetheless trace the lineage of Mary, paralleling the Gospel text from Matthew which gives the genealogy of Jesus. The comparison of Anna bringing forth Mary with Hannah bringing forth Samuel is a natural one. Reading 9 specifically refers to the Presentation event, recounted in the Gospels of James and Pseudo-Matthew,[105] which speaks of Mary being brought to the Temple and left there to dwell in holiness with the all-holy God and the other holy virgins left there. No mention is made, however, of her miraculous ascent of the stairs into the Temple. This Tridentine office of Mary's

[105] These texts have been edited by Coleman, *Philippe de Mézières' Campaign*. The texts with translation and complete musical transcriptions of the chants have been published in *Officium Presentationis*.

presentation preserved at least in some measure the unique texts which were omitted from the chants themselves. The fact that they were based on a homily by St John Damascene, held in great esteem within the Catholic tradition, allowed this exegesis of non-canonical readings to be included here.

A rubric in the printed Carmelite breviary of 1683 indicates that the Lauds, Little Hours, and second Vespers chants should follow those for the feast of the (Solemn) Commemoration (that is, Our Lady of Mount Carmel). Thus these antiphons for Lauds would be 'Pulchra es et decora', 'Sicut myrrha electa', 'In odorem unguentorum', 'Benedicta filia', and 'Speciosa facta es', followed by 'Ave stella matutina' as the Benedictus antiphon.[106]

CarK7 includes a 'Gaudeamus' Mass for this feast (on fol. 45 and again in a rubric on fol. 159], where the feast is referred to as 'In festo Presenta[tionis] B[eatae] V[irginis] Carmeliticae Patronae nostrae'. A hymn for the Presentation, 'Gaudium mundi nova stella', is included in CarK28, page 19 but is not mentioned in the Carmelite breviary of 1683. We have discussed in Chapter 3 the conspicuous absence of this feast from the medieval choir books, perhaps for political rather than liturgical reasons. This earlier absence of the feast makes the proper Matins readings all the more significant in the Tridentine liturgy. It is not all that surprising, therefore, that the feast's Tridentine celebration has no proper office chants.

The Visitation.

Table 9 shows the Visitation chants observed in the medieval Carmelite tradition and partially preserved in Kraków CarK1 and CarK3. In the 'Gaudeamus' Mass for the Immaculate Conception in CarK7, folio 45, a rubric indicates that the word 'Visitatio' is to be substituted at the appropriate places for that feast; a separate rubric on page 133 indicates that the the Mass chants for the Visitation should follow the Immaculate Conception. A similar situation occurs for the office in CarK16, page 65, where a rubric indicates that the chants should follow the Immaculate Conception, with the word 'Visitatio' replacing 'Conceptio' where appropriate. In CarK18, page 90 the rubric prescribes the 'Gaudeamus' introit and indicates that all the other chants for the feast of the Visitation should follow those for the Conception. In CarK25, folio 112, the rubric for the office states that everything should follow the Conception feast except for the antiphons within the octave, which are then

[106] The rubric is on p. 663 of *Breviarium Fratrum B. Virginis*, while the chant texts themselves are on p. 445.

listed, with music, as 'Speciosa facta es' for the Benedictus and 'Quam pulchra es' for the Magnificat. CarK25 has essentially the same rubric on folio 112, with 'Speciosa' listed as the Benedictus antiphon and 'Quam pulchra' (on fol. 112v] as the Magnificat antiphon.

The 1683 breviary prescribed that the office be celebrated as a *duplex maius* or major doubles.[107] For first Vespers the rubric prescribes the antiphon 'Haec est regina' and its series as used for the Commemoration of the Virgin, followed by the responsory 'Stirps Jesse'. The Magnificat antiphon is 'Gloriosae Virginis Mariae Visitationem' and the Nunc Dimittis antiphon is 'Alleluia: Sancta Dei genitrix'.

The Tridentine Roman process of creating chant texts that are specific to the Visitation is analogous to that used for the conception. Thus for Matins the Invitatory for the conception was 'Conceptionem Virginis Mariae celebremus', while here it is 'Visitationem Virginis Mariae celebremus;' the first Matins antiphon involves the word 'hodie', here for 'Hodie visitavit Elisabeth', a parallel to the earlier 'Hodie concepta est' for the Conception, in both cases making the celebration immediate. Similar parallels obtain for the other chants in the office, with the Lauds chants, 'Visitatio gloriosae virginis' and its series, analogous to the Conception texts. With such close textual parallels between the two feasts, it is easy enough to apply the music of one series of chants to the other with minimal difficulty. Here, as in the Conception feast, the Carmelites chose a compromise position, maintaining their medieval first Vespers chants while accepting the revised Tridentine Roman chants for Matins and Lauds, probably because the texts were more specific to the feast than were the chants of their own medieval tradition. The combination of their medieval Vespers chants and Tridentine Roman Matins and Lauds texts continued to make this liturgy distinctive in the early-modern era.

Our Lady of the Snows.

The feast of Our Lady of the Snows, patroness of the founding convent of Prague, continued to be celebrated in Kraków after the Council of Trent. CarK16, page 75 contains the chant 'Descendi in hortum' as a memorial in the middle of the feast of the Transfiguration. In CarK18, page 93 the feast is mentioned in an illegible rubric which seems to refer to the feasts of the conception and of the nativity of the virgin for its chants. In CarK25, folio 136v, the Benedictus antiphon is 'Nigra sum sed formosa' and the Magnificat

[107] *Breviarium Fratrum B. Virginis*, p. 421.

antiphon is 'Descendi in hortum'. The 1683 Carmelite breviary prescribes the celebration of the feast as a *duplex maius*, or feast or great solemnity.[108] Predictably it retains the antiphon 'Haec est regina' and its series of first Vespers chants and stipulates that the Matins chants should follow the Solemn Commemoration of the Virgin, specifying however[109] that the responsories for the second nocturn should be (R4) 'Sicut cedrus', (R5) 'Quae est ista', and (R6) 'Ornatam monilibus'. The Lauds antiphons follow those of the Solemn Commemoration while the Benedictus antiphon is 'Nigra sum sed formosa'.

In addition to these established feasts the Carmelites added new ones to their tradition, such as the Expectation, Our Lady of Mercy, the Holy Name of Mary, the Betrothal of the Virgin, and the Seven Sorrows of Mary. Texts for all these feasts conformed to newly published breviaries like the one from 1683. An historiated initial for the 'K' of 'Kyrie' in CarK7, folio 7^{v} portrays Mary in the Carmelite habit and white cloak, holding the Christ child and crowned, thus reinforcing pictorially the 'Hec est regina' chant beginning first Vespers for all Marian feasts which we discussed in Chapter 3. The rubric for the Kyrie is 'Kyrie in solemnitatibus V[irginis] Carmeliticae', thus indicating that it was to be chanted for all Carmelite Marian feasts. This preservation of the traditional Carmelite Marian feasts, combining the medieval first Vespers chants with the new Roman Lauds chants specific to each feast, along with the celebration of newer feasts in honour of Mary, ensured that the celebration of Marian feasts in the order's Tridentine litrugy remained both vibrant and distinctive.

Pre-Tridentine Carmelite Feasts Occurring only in Tridentine Manuscripts. In this section we will discuss the four properly Carmelite feasts that entered the order's liturgy during the later Middle Ages, but after the time of the latest surviving Carmelite antiphonals, the Mainz choir books of the 1430s: 1) Our Lady of Mount Carmel; 2) St Elias [Elijah] the Prophet; 3) St Eliseus [Elisha], disciple of Elias [Elijah] the prophet; and 4) St Albert of Sicily, the first properly Carmelite saint, followed by 5) reflections on these four Carmelite feasts.

Our Lady of Mount Carmel.

The feast of the Solemn Commemoration or Our Lady of Mount Carmel developed in the later Middle Ages but after the composition of the early codices in this collection, so that it first appears only in Kraków Carmelite choir

[108] *Breviarium Fratrum B. Virginis*, p. 489.

[109] *Breviarium Fratrum B. Virginis*, pp. 489–90.

books from the eighteenth century. A notebook of the Carmelite John Bale contains a rhymed office for this feast, now preserved in Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. VI. 28.[110] The small format of this manuscript suggests that it was a private devotional book designed for personal use rather than for a communal celebration. This office begins with the text 'Stella Maria maris, paris expers nos tuearis' as the first antiphon of first Vespers.[111] This preference for a rhymed office over one beginning with 'Haec est regina' is out of character with offices for virtually all medieval Carmelite Marian feasts, which further suggests that it is the literary effort of a single friar rather than a reflection of actual communal practice.

Arie Kallenberg has meticulously documented the history of this feast, including other Marian liturgies which at one time or another were used to honour Mary as patroness of the Carmelites.[112] He points out, for instance, that for a time the feast of the Annunciation was celebrated as the equivalent of the patronal feast: thus the General Chapter of Trier in 1362 decreed that it should be celebrated with a solemn octave, a tradition unique to the Carmelites, at least before 1600.[113] Similarly the Dormition of Mary, or feast of her Assumption, was also celebrated among the Carmelites with great solemnity and was for a long time considered the patronal feast of the order. Thus the English Carmelite Robert Ormeskirk wrote in his *Tractatus de Confirmatione Ordinis* around 1380 that the Prior General, Bernard Oller, had ordered the feast of the Assumption to be celebrated as a patronal feast around 1376;[114] a similar situation occurred with the feast of the Conception of the Virgin.[115] Kallenberg dates the earliest reference to a specific feast of the Solemn Commemoration of Mary to an astronomical calendar by the Carmelite Nicolas of Lynn, found in a fourteenth-century manuscript, London, British Library, Arundel MS 347,

[110] The texts of this office have been published in *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, pp. 341–45; Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. VI. 28 is described in *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, ed. by H. Luard, 6 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1856–67; repr. Munich: Kraus, 1980), II, 531–32.

[111] These office texts are edited in *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, pp. 322–28.

[112] Arie G. Kallenberg, 'The Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in the Liturgical Tradition of the Order', *Carmelus*, 47 (2000), 6-18.

[113] Kallenberg, 'The Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel', p. 8.

[114] Kallenberg, 'The Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel', p. 9, citing *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, ed. by Staring, p. 421.

[115] Kallenberg, 'The Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel', p. 11.

folio 18,[116] but points out that the earliest reference to the feast in an official Carmelite document dates to 1532 when the feast of the *Commemoratio Solemnis* is mentioned in the corrected ordinal (of Sibert de Beka) promulgated by the General Chapter of Padua in 1532 and imposed on the whole order in 1548 by the General Chapter of Venice. The proper feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was first promulgated as the patronal feast by the General Chapter of Traspontina in Rome in 1609.[117] It is therefore not surprising that the feast does not occur in any medieval Kraków antiphonals.

Table 22: Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel

Chant	Incipit	CarRMF	CarK16
1V a	Haec est regina		66*
M	Ave regina celorum		
	P. Magnificat	4	66
Inv	In honorem beatissimae		
	P. Venite	7	
N1 a1	Benedicta tu in mulieribus		
	P. Euouae	8	
a2	Beata mater et intacta		
	P. Euouae	9	
a3	Dignare me laudare		
	P. Euouae	9	
R1	Sancta et immaculata		
	v. Benedicta tu	10	
R2	Congratulamini mihi omnes		
	v. Beatam me dicent	13	
R3	Continet in gremio		
	v. Virgo Dei genitrix	15	
N2 a1	Specie tua et pulchritudine		
	P. Euouae	18	
a2	Adiuvabit eam Deus		
	P. Euouae	19	
a3	Sicut letantium omnium		
	P. Euouae	20	
R1	Sicut cedrus exaltata sum		
	v. Et sicut cinnamomum	21	

[116] Kallenberg, 'The Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel', p. 13; the manuscript is cited on p. 17.

[117] Kallenberg, 'The Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel', p. 15.

Chant	Incipit	CarRMF	CarK16
R2	Quae est ista quae processit		
	v. Et sicut dies verni	23	
R3	Ornatam monilibus filiam		
	v. Astitit Regina	26	
N3 a1	Haec est quae nescivit		
	P. Euouae	28	
a2	Gaude Maria virgo		
	P. Euouae	30	
a3	Cum iucunditate		
	P. Euouae	30	
R1	Beatam me dicent omnes		
	v. Et misericordia eius	32	
R2	Felix namque es sacra virgo		
	v. Ora pro populo [. . .] tuam commemorationem	34	
R3	Christi virgo dilectissima		
	v. Quoniam peccatorum		
	v. Gloria patri	38	
L a1	Pulchra es et decora		
	P. Euouae	40	66
a2	Sicut myrrha electa		
	P. Euouae	40	67
a3	In odorem unguentorum		
	P. Euouae	41	67
a4	Benedicta filia tua Domino		
	P. Euouae	42	67
a5	Speciosa facta es		
	P. Euouae	43	67
B	Ave stella matutina		
	P. Benedictus	44	
2V=L			
M	Alma Redemptoris mater		
	P. Magnificat	49	68
M	Gloria Libani data est		
	P. Magnificat		67

The Carmelite breviary of 1683 contains all the texts for the feast, celebrated as a major doubles (*duplex maius*).[118] In this breviary a woodcut opposite the first page of texts for the feast predictably depicts the scapular vision to St

[118] *Breviarium fratrum B. Virginis*, pp. 441–46; the feast was at least commemorated throughout the following week and the octave was celebrated as a *duplex minus* on 23 July (p. 462).

Simon Stock, thereby linking the scapular pictorially with the feast of the Solemn Commemoration. Table 22 shows the chant incipits for this feast in this Carmelite breviary and in the Kraków Carmelite sources. The standard five first Vespers chants used for all Marian feasts in the medieval Carmelite tradition predictably occur here also: 'Haec est regina virginum', 'Te decus virgineum', 'Sub tuum praesidium', 'Sancta Maria succurre', and 'Beata Dei genitrix', with 'Ave maris stella' as the hymn and 'Ave regina caelorum' as the Magnificat antiphon. Readings 5 and 6 of Matins address the issue of the Carmelites' special relationship to the Virgin Mary and thus merit close inspection.

Lectio iv [p. 442]

Cum sacra Pentecostes die Apostoli coelitus afflati variis linguis loquerentur, et invocatio augustissimo Jesu nomine mira multa patrarent: viri plurimi, qui vestigiis sanctorum Prophetarum Eliae ac Elisei institerant, et Joannis Baptistae praeconio ad Christi adventum comparati fuerant, rerum veritate perspecta atque probata, Evangelicam fidem confestim amplexati sunt, ac peculiari quodam affectu beatissimam Virginem (cujus colloquiis ac familiaritate feliciter frui potuere) adeo venerari coeperunt, ut primi omnium in eo montis Carmeli loco, ubi Elias olim ascendentem nebulam Virginis typo insignem conspexerat, eidem purissimae Virgini sacellum construxerint.

When on the holy day of Pentecost the assembled apostles, after they were breathed on from heaven, spoke in many languages and performed many wonders by the invocation of the most sacred name of Jesus. Many men, who followed in the footsteps of the holy prophets Elias and Eliseus and knew about the coming of Christ through the herald John the Baptist, immediately embraced the Gospel faith, since the truth of these things was certain and proven, and they began to venerate to a great degree in a specially affection the most blessed Virgin (whose conversation and close friendship they were happily able to enjoy), so that the first of all these men on that area of Mount Carmel, where Elias had once observed the rising cloud as a sign of the image of the Virgin, built a chapel to the same most pure Virgin.

Lectio v [p. 443]

Ad novum ergo sacellum saepe quotidie convenientes, ritibus piis, precationibus, ac laudibus Beatissimam Virginem, velut singularem Ordinis tutelam colebant. Quamobrem Fratres beatae Mariae de Monte Carmelo passim ab omnibus appellari coeperunt, eumque titulum summi Pontifices, non modo confirmarunt, sed et indulgentias peculiares ijs, qui eo titulo vel ordinem, vel fratres singulos nuncuparent, concessere. Nec vero nomenclaturam tantum munificentissima Virgo tribuit, & tutelam, verum & insigne sacri scapularis, quod beato Simoni

Anglico praebuit, ut caelesti hac veste ordo ille sacer dignosceretur, & a malis ingruentibus prote- [p. 444] geretur. Ac demum cum olim in Europa ordo esset ignotus, & ob id apud Honorium tertium non pauci pro illius extinctione instarent, astitit Honorio nocta purissima Virgo Maria, planeque iussit, ut institutum, & homines benigne complecteretur.

Thus, often gathering daily at the new chapel for holy rites, prayers and praises, they honoured the most Blessed Virgin as the special guardian of the Order. For this reason they began to be called by everyone Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel; and the popes not only confirmed this title, but granted special indulgences to all who invoked her [under this] title, whether the order [as a whole] or individual friars. The most generous virgin not only granted [them her] name and protection, but also the insignia of the holy scapular, which she bestowed upon Blessed Simon the Englishman, so that, by means of this heavenly garment, the whole order could be singled out and would be protected from malicious attacks. And finally, since the order was then unknown in Europe and for this reason not a few people argued before Honorius the Third for its extinction, the most pure Virgin Mary stood before Honorius by night and plainly commanded him that the institute and its men should be lovingly embraced.

Lectio vi.

Non in hoc tantum saeculo ordinem sibi tam acceptum multis praerogativis beatissima Virgo insignivit, verum & in alio (cum ubique & potentia, & misericordia plurimum valeat) filios in scapularis societatem relatos, qui abstinentiam modicam, precesque paucas eis praescriptas frequentarunt, ac pro sui status ratione castitatem coluerunt, materno plane affectu, dum igne Purgatorij expiantur, solari, ac in caelestem patriam obtentu suo quantocyus pie creditur efferre. Tot ergo, tantisque beneficijs ordo cumulatus, solemnem beatissimae Virginis commemorationem ritu perpetuo ad ejusdem Virginis gloriam quotannis celebrandam instituit.

Not only at this time did the most blessed Virgin single out with many privileges the Order that was so pleasing to her, but also at another [time] (when [the Order] was strong everywhere in power and mercy), she singled out sons who had been brought into the confraternity of the scapular, who regularly performed moderate abstinence and the little office [prayers] prescribed for them, and who cultivated chastity according to the way of their state in life, and through her clearly maternal affection, she is piously believed to have consoled [them] when they were making atonement in the fire of Purgatory, and to have brought them into the heavenly kingdom by her own pleading. Therefore the order, endowed with so many blessings, instituted an annual solemn commemoration of the most blessed Virgin to be celebrated as a perpetual rite to the glory of the same Virgin.

While the chants for this feast are entirely conventional, these Matins readings specifically refer to the self-understanding the Carmelites had

developed throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Thus the fourth reading refers to many men as the descendents of the prophets Elijah and Elisha ('Viri plurimi [. . .] institerant'), obliquely referring to the idea that the Carmelites descended from the 'sons of the prophets', an idea developed by Felip Ribot in his *Institutum Primorum Monachorum*. The same reading refers to the uniquely Carmelite interpretation of the 'cloud as small as a man's hand rising from the sea' that Elijah saw in 1 Kings 18. 44 as a symbol of the Virgin Mary. Thus this fourth Matins reading served for the local Carmelites as a vehicle for expressing both their self-understanding of their history and a specifically Carmelite interpretation of a significant scriptural passage.

Reading 5 takes up the theme of the first hermit Carmelites honouring Mary on Mount Carmel itself and of their special title as her brothers. It not only speaks about papal confirmation of their status, including indulgences for invoking the Virgin Mary under this title, but specifically addresses the issue of the importance of the Carmelite scapular and of the Marian vision to St Simon Stock. It thus allies the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel specifically with the person of St Simon Stock and with the scapular devotion, particularly popular among the faithful of Kraków, where one of the chapels in the church was affiliated with the local Scapular Confraternity. Lastly, it inserts the apparition of the Virgin Mary to Honorius III into a liturgical context, thereby reasserting the direct involvement of Mary in the confirmation of the Carmelite Order. In the last instance, such involvement necessarily defined her as 'Our Lady of Mount Carmel' since, without her direct intervention with the pope, the order itself would never have been allowed to survive. Thus numerous references in this Matins reading to the foundation stories that the Carmelites had developed during the Middle Ages do a great deal to legitimize both the antiquity of the order as well as Mary's special protection for it in the minds of the Carmelites who celebrated the office. At the same time such readings probably provided ample sermon material for the active friars, so that their contents extended far beyond the confines of the local Kraków Carmelite convent. Reading 6, in speaking of the special privileges attached to members of the Confraternity, who participated in Carmelite life as best they could according to their state in life, extended the patronage of Our Lady of Mount Carmel to include all those associated with the Kraków convent. Chief among the privileges bestowed on them was the scapular promise by which Mary would rescue from purgatory the souls of all those who faithfully wore her scapular, leading them into heaven on the first Saturday after their death.

Thus these Matins readings recalled for the Carmelites celebrating the feast the stories recounting their special relationship to Mary, passing on liturgically an understanding which medieval Carmelite writers had carefully developed. These stories both emphasized the special bond between the Carmelites and the Virgin Mary, and justified their mendicant status and the privileges they enjoyed as part of it. The liturgy for this feast accepted as historical fact the scapular vision to St Simon Stock, the Sabbatine privilege and the apparition of the Virgin Mary to Pope Honorius. Even as these two readings reinforced the particular importance of the feast for Carmelites, celebrating their very existence as an order and justifying the privileges they enjoyed, the antiphon texts for first Vespers continued to ally this Tridentine feast with its medieval roots and with the distinctive medieval Carmelite approach to celebrating Marian feasts. Thus this feast not only celebrated an important medieval Carmelite Marian tradition, but within its Matins texts provided a literary vehicle for expressing liturgically the understanding of their unique relationship to the Virgin Mary and of the antiquity of their order which they had developed during the Middle Ages. Ironically the full expression of this important medieval tradition occurs only in early-modern Carmelite choir books.

Elias [Elijah] the Prophet (20 July).

The original community of lay hermits on Mount Carmel undoubtedly followed the generally accepted custom for hermits and monks of venerating Elijah the prophet as their father and leader.[119] The reference to their specific location on Mount Carmel near the fountain of Elijah in the *rubrica prima* of the constitutions of the Chapter of 1281[120] further enhanced that relationship by their close physical proximity to a site closely associated with the prophet. We have examined in Chapter 1 the progressive development of the Elijan legend within the Carmelite order through several versions of the *rubrica prima* which progresively strengthened the relationship between the Carmelites and Elijah and in the process traced their own origins back to the time of the prophet. As we discussed earlier, Felip Ribot, by identifying the 'sons of the prophets' with the first Carmelites in his *Institute of the First Monks*, solidified their relationship to the prophet and, with it, the antiquity of their community, a question that throughout the thirteenth century jeopardized their

[119] Edwards discusses this in his 'Introduction', in *Rule of Saint Albert*, ed. by Clarke and Edwards, p. 12.

[120] Smet, *Carmelites*, I, 15.

establishment as a religious order in the wake of the decree *Ne nimia* of the Fourth Lateran Council. This Elijan legend[121] helped the Carmelites to promote themselves as an ancient order against the better established Franciscans and Dominicans. If, in the Carmelites' understanding of their original foundation on Mount Carmel, they saw Elijah rather than a prior or any other leader as their founding father figure, then it became crucial for them to develop this theme once they established themselves in western Europe, since they had no other charismatic figure comparable to Francis or Dominic to promote as their founder.

For the Carmelites the cultivation of a special relationship with Elijah the prophet paralleled the progressive development of their relationship to the Virgin Mary. While Elijah was generally understood as the patron of hermits and monks, the Carmelites were unique among such hermit groups for having become an international mendicant order by the later thirteenth century; their situation in western Europe necessarily made them active in promoting this relationship. Once they entered the universities and interacted with other mendicants and diocesan clergy, the need to describe and justify their way of life encouraged them to develop and promote their relationship with Elijah as a unique characteristic of their order. Ackerman points out that 'medieval Carmelite writers invented an eremitic life for Elijah that resembled their own, complete with quiet, worship of Mary and her Son, penitence, stability, and a host of like-minded followers'.[122] John B. Friedman discusses a French gradual fragment dating to *c.* 1475 that depicts Eljah and Elisha in Carmelite habit and white cloak, in the margins of a folio commemorating the Ascension of Christ; the folio also features an historiated 'V' for 'Viri Galilei'. Friedman argues that such depictions were part of a Carmelite campaign to reinforce the order's claims to antiquity.[123] Since such a gradual had to be intended for Carmelite use, and since by 1475 Elijah and Elisha were commonly accepted as Carmelite saints and founders, the local Carmelties themselves were probably its primary audience. The promotion and establishment of a specific Carmelite feast of St

[121] Ackerman discusses the question of Elijah as the founder of the Carmelites in, 'Stories of Elijah', pp. 124–47.

[122] Ackerman, 'Stories of Elijah', p. 128.

[123] John B. Friedman, 'Carmelite Propaganda in a Fifteenth-Century French Gradual Fragment', *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 8 (1987), 67–95; the fragment in question is University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, World Heritage Museum, MS 29.14.3, shown on p. 73 of his study.

Elijah thus relates closely to the order's self-understanding throughout the Middle Ages. Carmelites also sought to link their devotion to Elijah with their fidelity to Mary, so that the Carmelite writer John Grossi in his *Viridarium*

> asserts that Mary often visited the hermits on Mount Carmel, treating them as she would her own sons and brothers; they in response built her a chapel on their mountain and chose her as their patroness. [. . .] By suspending time, the solitary Elijah is seen to honour the first-century mother of Jesus with his virginal state, and the tension between eremitic and cenobitic life that occurred in the order as it began to be urbaniazed in Europe is projected backward onto the pre-Christian 'sons of the prophets'.[124]

A proper feast for St Elijah entered the Carmelite liturgy only in 1450[125] so that no medieval version of his office survives in any medieval Carmelite choir books. Robert Bale's medieval office, 'Historia Raptus sacratissimi Heliae Prophetae', in honour of Elijah[126] is an individual literary effort that does not reflect a wider devotion endorsed by the whole order. Moreover, no proper office for St Elijah occurs in the printed breviary of 1495, so one that his feast must not have been celebrated liturgically before the sixteenth century at the earliest. Thus surviving office and Mass chants for the feast occur only in eighteenth-century manuscripts or as later additions to earlier codices.[127] Kallenberg has argued convincingly that Elijah's assumption, described in II Kings 2. 11–12, precluded his being venerated as a saint since, without specifically dying, he had no *dies natalis* or date of entrance into heaven.[128] In addition, Gregory the Great maintained that the stratum of heaven to which Elijah was assumed was not the same stratum where God lived, so that Elijah could not be considered a saint.[129] The Jewish expectation that Elijah would

[124] Ackerman, 'Stories of Elijah', p. 142 n.58.

[125] Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, p. 20.

[126] The texts of this office have been published in *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, pp. 341–45; the office occurs in the manuscript Cambrige, University Library, ms. Ff. VI. 28, described in *Catalogue of the Manuscripts*, ed by Luard, II, 531–32

[127] James Boyce, O. Carm., 'The Feasts of Saints Elijah and Elisha in the Carmelite Rite: A Liturgico-Musical Study', in *Master of the Sacred Page: Essays and Articles in Honor of Roland E. Murphy, O. Carm., on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. by Keith J. Egan and others (Washington, D.C.: The Carmelite Institute, 1997), pp. 155–88.

[128] Pascal Kallenberg, O. Carm., 'Le culte liturgique d'Élie dans l'Ordre du Carmel', *Élie le prophète*, Études Carmélitaines, 35 (1956), II, 134–50.

[129] Gregorius Magnus, Hom[ilia]. in fest[o]. Ascensionis Domini, Hom. 29.5, *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by Migne, LXXVI, 1216C: 'In Veteri Testamento cognovimus quod

return before the Messiah and the anachronistic issues that the kingdom of God was only opened after the ascension of the Lord made the question of Elijah's assumption particularly problematic, especially if it was not clear to where he ascended. The heading for Elijah's feast in these Kraków and other manuscripts usually refers to him as 'dux et pater noster', 'our leader and father', making him the equivalent of a founder, so that liturgical practices reinforced beliefs concerning Carmelite identity. Table 23 shows the chants for this office, based on its most complete version, Rome, San Martino ai Monti, codex F (CarRMF),[130] including Matins chants, with the appropriate correspondences in CarK1, CarK3, CarK16, and the page reference in the printed Carmelite breviary of 1683 where the chants occur. In addition to those specifically listed in Table 23, chants also are found in other Kraków Carmelite manuscripts.[131] Unlike Robert Bale's *Historia* of Elijah, all these texts are based on scripture: since Elijah's activities were so clearly described in the two books of Kings, they proved acceptable to a Tridentine aesthetic.

Table 23: Feast of St. Elias

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	Car RMF	Car K1	Car K3	Car K16	Brev
1Vesp	Ant1	Zelo zelatus sum					
		Ps. Dixit Dominus	53	382	190	69	448
	Ant2	Usquequo claudicatis					
		Ps. Confitebor	54	382	190	69	448
	Ant3	Si homo Dei sum					
		Ps. Beatus vir	55	383	190	69	448
	Ant4	Non ego turbavi					
		Ps. Laudate pueri	56	383	190v	69	448
	Ant5	Occidisti in super					
		Ps. [Lauda Jerusalem]	57	383	190v	70	448

Elias sit raptus in coelum. Sed aliud est coelum aereum, aliud aethereum. Coelum quippe aereum terrae est proximum; unde et aves coeli dicimus, quia eas volitare in aere videmus. In coelum itaque aereum Elias sublevatus est, ut in secretam quamdam terrae regionem repente duceretur, ubi in magna jam carnis et spiritus quiete viveret, quousque ad finem munde redeat, et mortis debitum solvate'.

[130] Chants for the office of St Elijah begin on p. 53 of Rome, San Martino ai Monti, Codex F.

[131] These chants occur specifically on CarK1:382; CarK3:190; CarK7:135; CarK8:38; CarK16:69; CarK18:60; CarK18:90; CarK19:98; CarK25:114v; CarK32:53; CarKA:53.

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	Car RMF	Car K1	Car K3	Car K16	Brev
	R	Respexit Elias					
		v. Angelus Domini					
		v. Gloria patri	58	383*	190v*		448
	Mag	Ecce ego mittam vobis					
		Ps. [Magnificat]	62	382	190v	70	448
Matins	Inv	Regem prophetarum Dominum					
		Ps. Venite	64	378	190v		449
Noct1	Ant1	Factum est autem ut	65				
	Ant2	Dixit mulier ad Eliam	66				
	Ant3	Ait Elias ad viduam da mihi	67				
	R1	Recede hinc et vade					
		v. Absconde in torrente	68				
	R2	Abiit mulier et fecit iuxta					
		v. Ex illa die hydria	71				
	R3	Reversa est anima pueri					
		v. Tulit Elias puerum					
		v. Gloria Patri	73				
Noct2	Ant1	Factum est verbum	75				
	Ant2	Ait Elias ad Achab	76				
	Ant3	Manus Domini facta est	77				
	R1	Ait Abdias ad Eliam					
		v. Dixit Elias vivit	79				
	R2	Cum venisset Elias ad					
		v. Cumque illa pergeret	81				
	R3	Expandit se atque					
		v. Domine Deus meus					
		v. Gloria Patri	85				
Noct3	Ant1	Dixit Elias prophetis	87				
	Ant2	Cum iam tempus esset	89				
	Ant3	Orante Elia cecidit ignis	90				
	R1	Ait Elias nuntiis regis					
		v. Reversi nuntii ad	92				
	R2	Ascendit quinquagenarius					
		v. Dixit Elias si homo	95				
	R3	Factum est dum tolleret					
		v. Cumque pergerent et					
		v. Gloria Patri	98	376	193		
Lauds	Ant1	Elias dum zelat					
		Ps. Dominus regnavit	102	384	190v	70	453
	Ant2	Factum est autem					
		Ps. Jubilate Deo	102	384	191	70	453

Chant		Incipit	Car	Car	Car	Car	Brev
Service	Prayer		RMF	K1	K3	K16	
	Ant3	Tulit Elias pallium					
		Ps. Deus Deus meus	104	384	191	71	453
	Ant4	Cum Elias et Eliseus					
		Ps. Benedicite	105	384	191	71	453
	Ant5	Ascendit Elias					
		Ps. Laudate Dominum	106	385	191v	71	453
	Ben	Elias homo erat					
		Ps. Benedictus**	108	385	191v		454
2Vesp	Mag	Tulit Elias pallium					
		Ps. Magnificat	110	386	192	71	455
Oct	Ben	Elias Dei propheta					
		Ps. Magnificat	113				
	Mag	Elias Dei propheta					
		Ps. Magnificat	115	386	192	72	

* rubric

** In CarK3 this chant is the Magnificat antiphon rather than the Benedictus antiphon.

Mass Chants for St Elias

Introit	Zelo zelatus sum	
	Ps. Exaltabo te	
	v. Gloria patri	CarK7:135, CarK18:90
Gradual	Elias ascendit	
	v. In septima autem vicem	CarK7:135v
Alleluia	v. Quis potest similiter	CarK7:136v; CarK18:91
Offertory	Elias homo erat similis	CarK7:137
Communion	Ecce ego mittam vobis	CarK7:137v

The Kraków Carmelite codices, like most Carmelite antiphonals, include only the Vespers and Lauds chants, leaving open the question of how Matins was celebrated. No printed antiphonals have survived, but they may have been in existence by that time; the other alternative is that such manuscripts or books were lost, like so many other valuable liturgical materials. The Matins readings for this feast are based on I Kings 17 (readings 1–3), a book by St Epiphanius on the significance of the prophets ('de Vitis Prophetarum') (Reading 4), a book by St Isidore on the Fathers of the Old Testament (Readings 5-6), and the Gospel from Luke 9 referring to the Transfiguration, followed by Homily 57 of St John Chrysostom which discusses this scriptural text (Readings 7–9). These last

three Matins readings thus ally this feast to the Transfiguration at which Elijah and Moses appeared together in the company of the Lord. Thus this feast implicitly reinforces the resurrection theology which is central to the Transfiguration and links this newer office of Elijah to the much older feast.

This feast of St Elijah contains not only entirely proper chants for the Divine Office, but also for the Mass. These pieces, like the office chants, are based on the scriptural texts referring to Elijah:

Int.	Zelo zelatus sum	1 Kings 19. 10
Gr.	Elias ascendit in verticem	1 Kings 19. 42–43, 44, and 45
All.	v. Quis potest similiter	Ecclesiasticus 48. 4–5, 9
Off.	Elias homo erat	James 5. 17–18
Com.	Ecce ego mittam vobis Eliam	Malachi 4. 5–6

The preface for this feast is also entirely proper. The texts for this Mass, like those for the office, were taken from traditional scriptural passages referring to Elijah, either directly or indirectly. Perhaps the most striking of these texts is the first antiphon for first Vespers and the introit for Mass, both of which feature the text 'Zelo zelatus sum pro domino deo exercituum quia dereliquerunt pactum tuum filij Israel'. The Introit version in CarK7 is the longer of the two:

> Zelo zelatus sum pro domino deo exercituum dixit Elias ad dominum quia derelinquerunt pactum tuum filij Israel altaria tua destruxerunt et prophetas tuos occiderunt gladio; et derelictus sum ego solus et querent animam meam ut auferant eam. [Psalm] Exaltabo te domine quoniam suscepisti me nec delectasti inimicos meos super me. Gloria p[atri]'.[132]

> I have been most zealous for the Lord, the God of hosts, but the Israelites have forsaken your covenant, torn down your altars, and put your prophets to the sword. I alone am left, and they seek to take my life. [1 Kings 19:14.][133][Psalm] I will extol you, O Lord, for you drew me clear and did not let my enemies rejoice over me. [Psalm 30. 2.] Glory be to the Father.

The zeal for God, based on this text, generally found its way into the Carmelite self-understanding as the friars tried to emulate in their own lives Elijah's enthusiasm for the ways of God. As the first chant text for either Mass or Vespers, the 'Z' is often decorated in Carmelite liturgical manuscripts. The most elaborate of such historiated initials occurs in CarK7, page 135, shown as our

[132] The more complete text is the one used in the Missal. Robert Bale's Mass began with the Introit text 'Os iusti meditabitur', but obviously was restricted to this Cambridge manuscript. See *Ordinaire*, ed. by Zimmerman, p. 345 for these texts.

[133] *The New American Bible*.

Figure 12; Kopera and Lepszy described this scene as the killing of martyrs.[134] The historiated initial in fact depicts Elijah in the upper space offering sacrifice in competition with the sacrifice of the prophets of Baal; in the lower space, having triumphed over the false prophets, Elijah slits their throats.[135] In both the upper and lower spaces of the initial Elijah wears the Carmelite white cloak, reinforcing Friedman's point that such an initial enhanced the Carmelite story of their relationship to Elijah. Such a depiction in this manuscript is part of a larger Carmelite effort to portray Elijah as one of their own number by dressing him in the Carmelite habit, as is the case with the frescoes in the Basilica of San Martino ai Monti in Rome, for instance.[136] The Carmelites, by portraying Elijah in their own habit, make the implicit statement that the ancient prophet both performed this miracle and carried out the execution of his enemies as a Carmelite. They thus ally Elijah's prophetic activity to their own ministry as mendicants. For the Carmelite viewer of the manuscript the initial reinforced his vocation as following directly in the line of the Hebrew prophet. One can reasonably presume that, by the time of the composition and dissemination of the chants for the office and Mass of St Elijah, Felip Ribot's *The Ten Books* discussed in Chapter 1 and the Elijan legend that it promulgated were in fact commonly known among the Carmelites. Thus while the Carmelites celebrated Elijah's feast with proper but scriptural texts, this liturgy reinforced their unique relationship to the prophet as the founder of the order. Thus the liturgy helped to shape the Carmelites' self-understanding in relationship to their founder Elijah.

[134] Kopera and Lepszy, *Zabytki Sztuki w Polsce*, II, 72.

[135] James Boyce O. Carm., 'Elijah among the Carmelites'.

[136] Craig E. Morrison, O. Carm. refers to these frescoes in his article, 'Handing on the Mantle: The Transmission of the Elijah Cycle in the Biblical Versions', in *Master of the Sacred Page: Essays and Articles in Honor of Roland E. Murphy, O. Carm., on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. by Keith J. Egan, T. O. Carm. and others (Washington, D.C.: The Carmelite Institute, 1997), pp. 109–29.



Figure 12: The historiated 'Z' for 'Zelo zelatus sum' in CarK7, p. 135.

Table 24: Feast of St Eliseus

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	CarRME	CarK1	CarK3	CarK16	CarK21	CarK25
1Vesp	Ant1	Eliseum filium Saphat	412	374	192v	54	105	104
	Ant2	Profectus Elias	413	375	192v	55	105	105
	Ant3	Cumque venisset Elias	414	375	192v	55	105	105
	Ant4	Eliseus relictis bobus	415	375	193	55	105	105
	Ant5	Eliseus ait osculer	416	375	193	55	105	105
	Mag	Reversus autem ab Elia						
		Ps. Magnificat	416	377	193v	55	106	106
Matins	Inv	Regem Prophetarum						
		Dominum	419					106
		Ps. Venite						
Noct1	Ant1	Ait Iosaphat Rex	419					
	Ant2	Est hic Eliseus	420					
	Ant3	Dixit autem Eliseus	421					
	R1	Cum venisset Elias						
		v. Osculer oro	422					
	R2	Cum transissent Elias						
		v. Elias dixit ad Eliseum	425					
	R3	Dixerunt filij prophetarum						
		v. Ecce locus						
		v. Gloria patri	427					
Noct2	Ant1	Cum caneret psaltes	430					
	Ant2	Alveus iste replebitur	431					

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	CarRME	CarK1	CarK3	CarK16	CarK21	CarK25
	Ant3	Parumque est hoc	432					
	R1	Egressus Eliseus ad fontem						
		v. Sanate sunt ergo aque	433					
	R2	Dixit vir Dei sanctus						
		v. Noli queso Domine	435					
	R3	Misit rex Syrie						
		v. Eliseus oravit ad Dominum	437					
Noct3	Ant1	Mulier infundebat oleum	440					
	Ant2	Vade inquit Eliseus	441					
	Ant3	Incubuit Eliseus super puerum	441					
	R1	Dixit Eliseus ad Naaman						
		v. Descendit Naaman et lavit	442					
	R2	Eliseus ait ad Reges						
		v. Non videbitis	445					
	R3	Factum est dum tolleret						
		v. Cumque pergerent						
		v. Gloria patri	447					
Lauds	Ant1	Postula quod vis	450	380	194	56	106	106
	Ant2	Dixitque Eliseus obsecro	451	380	194v	56	106	106
	Ant3	Rem difficilem postulasti	452	380	194v	56	106	107
	Ant4	Eliseus autem videbat	453	380	194v	57	106	107
	Ant5	Percussitque aquas	454	380	194v	57	106	107
	Ben	Videntes autem filij prophetarum						
		Ps. Benedictus	454	381	194v		106	107

Chant: Service	Chant: Prayer	Incipit	CarRME	CarK1	CarK3	CarK16	CarK21	CarK25
2Vesp	Mag	Eliseus autem egrotabat						
		Ps. Magnificat	456	381	195	57	107	108
Oct	Ben	Dixit Eliseus ad senes						
		Ps. Benedictus	458					
	Mag	Clamaverunt filii prophetarum						
		Ps. Magnificat	460	382	195	58	107	108

Mass Chants for St Eliseus in CarK7

Introit	Requievit spiritus Elie	
	Ps. Voce mea ad Dominum	
	v. Gloria patri	fol. 124
Gradual	Egressus Eliseus ad fontes	
	v. Sanate sunt ergo	fol. 124^{v}
Alleluia	v. Elias in turbine	fol. 125
Offertory	Dixitque Eliseus mulieri	fol. 125^{v}
Communion	Eliseus in vita sua	fol. 125^{v}

Eliseus, [Elisha] disciple of Elias (14 June).

At the General Chapter of 1399 the Carmelites mandated the feast of St Eliseus, the disciple of Elias, to be celebrated on 14 June, using chants from the common of a confessor until a proper office could be written.[137] Eliseus's presumably normal death enabled him to be venerated as a saint before his master Elias. The designation in the chapter acts of the feast as *duplex vel maius* suggests a high degree of ceremony for it. The feast occurs in a printed Carmelite ordinal of 1544,[138] just before the opening of the Council of Trent. With the exception of the Invitatory antiphon 'Regem prophetarum', the chant incipits listed in the ordinal of 1544, although proper to the feast, are entirely different from those contained in Tridentine liturgical books. Table 24 lists these chants for the office of St Eliseus as found in the eighteenth-century Carmelite antiphonal, Rome, San Martino ai Monti, codex E (CarRME), with appropriate references to the chants which occur in the Kraków Carmelite manuscripts.[139] Like chants for St Elias, these are taken from the books of Kings and reflect on the role of Eliseus with respect to Elias. Matins chants are not included in the Kraków manuscripts, perhaps because they were available in a printed or other source which has not survived to modern times. The Matins readings, found in Tridentine breviaries,[140] are taken from I Kings 19 (Reading 1), II Kings 2 (Reading 2), II Kings 6 (Reading 3), and Sermon 7 of St Ambrose (Readings 4–6). The Gospel citation, taken from Luke 4, refers to Jesus saying to the crowds that they will tell him 'physician heal thyself and do for us here in your own land the things we heard were done in Capharnaum', followed by a homily of St Ambrose reflecting on this passage (Readings 7–9). The first three readings are particularly significant, since by this time the Carmelites could read

[137] 'Primo ordinaverunt, quod de sancto Heliseo propheta Montis Carmeli fiat omni anno 18 Kalend. Julii, scilicet die 14.a mensis Junii festum duplex vel maius, et fiat officium de uno Confessore quousque habebitur officium proprium': Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, p. 45.

[138] *Ordinale divinorum officiorum sacre religionis Carmelitarum. Decreto capituli generalissimi celebrati Padue. 1532 per religiosos probate intelligentie [. . .] Insuper in capitulo generalissimo Vincentie celebrato. 1539 [. . .]* (Venice: Nicolas de Bascarinis, 1544); chants for the feast of St Eliseus are prescribed on fol. $86^{r–v}$.

[139] CarK1:374; CarK3:192^{v}; CarK7:123^{v}; CarK16:54; CarK18:85; CarK19:110; CarK21:105; CarK25:104.

[140] *Breviarium Ordinis Fratrum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo iuxta Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae antiquam observantiam [. . .]*, Pars Aestiva (Tournai: typis Soc. sancti Joannis Evangelistae, 1886); the office of St Eliseus is found on pp. 476–86.

themselves into much of the story, as in the passage where Elisha picks up Elijah's cloak and wears it as his own, and in the passage wherein Elisha requests of Elijah a double portion of his spirit. By this time the Carmelites identified Elijah's mantle with their own white cloak and sought the double portion of Elijah's spirit in order to be a prophetic presence in society. In this way the liturgical celebration of this feast resonated with the Carmelites' understanding of their own role of fidelity to God in prayer and ministry in the Church. Like the feast of Elijah, that of Elisha features unique proper Mass chants that describe his life as a prophet. Given the wide circulation of Felip Ribot's *The Ten Books* by the end of the Middle Ages, one can expect these proper Elisha texts to be interpreted as much according to the Carmelite tradition about Elijah and Elisha as according to a literal reading of the scriptural text itself. The Mass texts and their scriptural references are as follows:

Int.	Requievit spiritus Eliae	II Kings 2. 15
Gr.	Egressus Eliseus ad fontem	II Kings 2. 21–22
All.	v. Elias in turbine	Ecclesiasticus 48. 13
Off.	Dixit Eliseus mulieri	II Kgs 4:3-4
Com.	Eliseus in vita sua	Ecclesiasticus 48. 15

These texts either recount the activity of Eliseus as recorded in II Kings or reflect on his life as in Ecclesiasticus. While all these texts are scriptural they digress from normal practice in that they refer specifically to the saint being honoured, unlike most Mass texts that are taken from the psalms and relate only in general terms to the specific feast. Perhaps the most interesting of these texts is the Introit antiphon, which reads as follows:

> Requievit spiritus Eliae super Eliseum: et venientes filii prophetarum in occursum ejus, adoraverunt eum proni in terram.
>
> Psalm Voce mea ad Dominum clamavi: voce mea ad Deum, et intendit me.
>
> The spirit of Elias came down to rest on Eliseus; and, meeting him, the sons of the prophets fell down face to earth.
>
> Psalm. To the Lord I cry aloud; cry aloud to the God who will not refuse a hearing.[141]

[141] Latin text and translation are taken from *The Missal According to the Carmelite Rite in Latin and English for Every Day in the Year* (Vatican City: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1953), p. 1090.



Figure 13: The historiated 'R' for 'Requievit' in CarK7, p. 124

Our Figure 13 shows the historiated initial 'R' for 'Requievit' in CarK7, folio 124, which depicts Elisha receiving the white cloak from Elijah, thus giving a properly Carmelite interpretation to this text. The visual element reinforces the proper Carmelite interpretation of an otherwise standard scriptural text, and allows them to see themselves as followers of Elijah and Elisha. Given the widespread circulation of Ribot's *The Ten Books* by this time, the Carmelites who chanted this antiphon or merely listened to it no doubt associated themselves with the sons of the prophets who 'fell down face to earth'. While the text merely speaks of the spirit of Elijah descending upon Elisha, the historiated initial depicts the deeper Carmelite meaning of the white cloak of Elijah being given to his disciple Elisha. The Carmelites no doubt saw their own white cloak as an extension of the one Elisha received and as a symbol of their own participation in the prophetic ministry of

Elijah and Elisha. In this and the other chants for the feast, text, and music, and for the Introit text, image, and music, all combined to create an effect that reinforced the early-modern Carmelites' understanding of their relationship to the prophets Elijah and Elisha and of their own prophetic ministry.

St Albert of Sicily (7 August).

Unlike saints such as Elias and Eliseus, whose history had a rather tenuous connection to the Carmelites, St Albert of Sicily was indisputably the first properly Carmelite saint. Born in Trapani, Sicily around 1240, Albert entered the Carmelite monastery there and was ordained in 1289; by the time of his death in Messina, Sicily on 7 August 1307 he had already acquired a reputation for sanctity.[142] The General Chapter of Bonn of 1411 established his feast as a *duplex* on the day of St Donatus, that is, 7 August; Albert was to be celebrated as a confessor not a bishop, with all the office texts being taken from the common until a proper office could be developed.[143] Pope Callistus III approved his cult in 1457[144] and Pope Sixtus IV ratified it in his bull *Caelestis aulae militum* of 31 May 1476.[145] Kallenberg points out that Albert was venerated as a saint within the order without official canonization.[146] Albert's feast was ordered to be celebrated in the breviary under *duplex* rank by the General Chapter of Brussels of 1462.[147] The texts of this 'O Alberte norma munditie' rhymed office were based on the *vita* written by Joannes-Maria Poluciis, a Carmelite of the Mantuan congregation (d. 1505) in 1499,[148] while the hymns were written by Blessed Baptist of Mantua, as contained in a

[142] For the most recent scholarship on St Albert, see Vincenzo Mosca, *Alberto Patriarca di Gerusalemme: tempo, vita, opera* (Roma: Edizioni carmelitane, 1996).

[143] 'Item de beato Alberto de Trapano fiat festum duplex die sancti Donati, et fiat de eo ut unius Confessoris non Episcopi donec officium proprium de eo fuerit divulgatum, quod quidem jam habetur', cited Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, p. 46; see also *Acta Capitulorum Generalium*, ed. by Wessels, I, 132, 134.

[144] Eamon R. Carroll, O. Carm., 'Albert of Trapani, St', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, I, 233.

[145] Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, p. 47, citing *Bullarum Carmelitarum*, I, 315.

[146] Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, p. 47.

[147] Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, p. 52.

[148] Cosme de Villiers de Saint Etienne, O. Carm., *Bibliotheca carmelitana*, rev. edn Gabriele Wessels, 2 vols (Rome: Prostat in aedibus Collegii S. Alberti, 1927), II, 50–51.

Carmelite breviary printed at Venice by Torresanus de Asula in 1495.[149] These texts have been published in modern edition, based on a printed Carmelite breviary of Venice of 1579[150] and agree with the version in this earlier Carmelite breviary of 1495, a breviary later used in the Carmelite monastery of Bamberg. This Bamberg breviary is significant since it clearly established that the feast of St Albert, complete with its rhymed office, was celebrated liturgically during the later Middle Ages.

While numerous medieval manuscript breviaries contain the office,[151] no medieval antiphonals with music from the later fifteenth or early sixteenth century have survived, with the single exception of an antiphonary from the church of Santa Maria in Traspontina in Rome, the earliest parts of which date to the fifteenth or sixteenth century and contain what are probably the earliest chants for the St Albert office.[152] The latest pre-Tridentine musical sources are the choir books from Mainz, which date to the 1430s, before the introduction

[149] *Breviarium de camera secundum usum carmelitarum [. . .] per . . . fratrem Joannem Mariam de Poluciis seu Prandinis de Novolario [. . .] emendatum [. . .]* (Venice: Andreas Torresanis de Asula, 1495). The manuscript is described in *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, v, 120–21. A copy of this incunabulum is now in the Amherst College Library, with the shelfmark 'xRBR Incun 1495 B7': Cf. Frederick R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries*, ed. by Goff, p. 137.

[150] These texts are found *Analecta Hymnica*, ed. by Dreves and Blume, v, 101–03.

[151] The following medieval manuscript breviaries include this office: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 2501 (15th c.); New Haven, Yale University Library, MS 41 (John W. Sterling 80) (15th c.); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lincoln Coll. MS 103 (15th c.); Engelberg, StiftsBibliothek, MS 151 (6/38) (15th c.); Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS Palatini 187 (15th c.); Avignon, Musée Calvet, MS 103 (Anc. fonds 63) (15th c.); Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS Palatini 215 (15th c.); Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale, MS cl. II 215 (15th c.); Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS Parmensi 142 (15th c.); Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MSC; lit. 76 (15th c.); Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MSC lit. 83 (15th c.); Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MSC lit. 77 (15th c.); Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MSC lit 96 (15th c.); Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, MSC lit. 78 (15th c.); Kassel, Landesbibliothek, cod. theol 2° 13 (15th c.); Kassel, Landesbibliothek, cod. theol 2° 14 (15th c.); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 646 (15th c.); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 646 (15th c.); Dublin, Trinity College, MS B 3 10 (86) (15th c.). These manuscripts are described in Kallenberg, *Fontes Liturgiae Carmelitanae*, pp. 163–207.

[152] Some of the pieces for this office in the antiphonal, Rome, Centro Internazionale Sant' Alberto, originally from the Carmelite church of Santa Maria in Traspontina, codex G seem to be medieval, although most of the music in the codex was revised and added into the manuscript in the eighteenth century; for a brief discussion of these Traspontina manuscripts, cf. Boyce, 'The Carmelite Office in the Tridentine Era', pp. 353–87.

of the feast of St Albert. While some chants for this feast occur in many eighteenth-century Carmelite antiphonals and while some have been added in to the older antiphonals, such as CarK1, the only manuscript which contains the entire texts and music for the office is Rome, San Martino ai Monti, Codex F [CarRMF]. We use this as a basis to supply the chant incipits for his rhymed office, beginning with 'O Alberte norma munditie', as the first antiphon for first Vespers, in our Table 25, and list the appropriate places where each of the pieces may be found in one of the Kraków Carmelite manuscripts. The fact that some of these texts have been preserved, although with newer music, indicates the importance of this feast to the medieval and Tridentine Carmelites. This St Albert office is the equivalent for the Carmelites of the 'Franciscus vir catholicus' office of St Francis of Assisi for the Franciscans,[153] since in both cases the *vita* of the earliest proper saint in the order is firmly established within a liturgical context. Chants for the feast occur in several of the manuscripts from the Kraków collection.[154]

Table 25: Feast of St Albert

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	CarRMF	CarK1	CarK16
1Vesp	Mag	O Alberte norma	199	387	77
		Ps. Magnificat			
Matins	Inv	Regem Christum			
		Ps. Venite	201	388	
Noct1	Ant1	In sancto proposito	202	388	
	Ant2	Sancto sumpto	203	388	
	Ant3	Tribulatus acriter	204	388	
	R1	Claritate divini			
		v. Confortatus puer	205		
	R2	Ne fedetur corpus			
		v. Sicque vincit	207		
	R3	Actu firmus et mente			
		v. Charitate fit			
		v. Gloria patri	209		
Noct2	Ant1	Cordis cum laetitia	211		
	Ant2	Fidelitatis scuto	212		

[153] *S. Francisci Assisiensis*, ed. by Felder.

[154] CarK1:387; CarK7:112; CarK7:140v; CarK16:nnv; CarK16:77; CarK18:94; CarK25:119v; CarK32:56; CarKA:55.

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	CarRMF	CarK1	CarK16
	Ant3	Sancti sacerdotij	213		
	R1	Hostis pravus studet			
		v. Dei laudes	214		
	R2	Obsidetur Messana			
		v. Dum timetur	216		
	R3	Plebs letatur grandi			
		v. Laudes promunt			
		v. Gloria patri	219		
Noct3	Ant1	Sine cordis macula	221		
	Ant2	Vitam sibi placitam	222		
	Ant3	Quasi nubes lucida	223		
	R1	Crescit ardor			
		v. Vexatorum mira	224		
	R2	Terrenum relinquens			
		v. Fluunt cuncti	226		
	R3	Iesu dulcis Alberti			
		v. A penarum solutis			
		v. Gloria patri	228		
Lauds	Ant1	Cum Albertus nascitur	230	389	78
	Ant2	Puro corde iubilet	231	389	78
	Ant3	Tua sancta dextera	232	389	78
	Ant4	Excellentem Dominum	233	389	78
	Ant5	Deum omnis spiritus	234	390	79
	Ben	Gressus nostros prospere			
		Ps. Benedictus	235	390	
2Vesp	Mag	O Alberte pater			
		Ps. Magnificat	237	390	79

Unlike Mass chants for the feasts of Sts Elijah and Elisha, those for St Albert are generally based on his *vita* rather than on scripture. This situation is particularly surprising, given the Council of Trent's restrictions on non-scriptural texts being used within the liturgy. Obviously the Mass and office for St Albert, venerated as the first properly Carmelite saint, were firmly established before the Council of Trent and hence allowed to be observed after it. The specific chants for the Mass of St Albert are:

Int.	Os justi meditabitur
	Psalm 36. 30–31
Gr	Funeri dum traditur
All.	v. Te rogamus o pater
Off	Almi Patris Filium
Com	Vacant aegri vigilantes

Mass chants for St Albert occur in CarK7, folio 140[v], beginning with the gradual, 'Funeri dum traditur', the first of the proper chants. The chants are both proper to the occasion and refer directly to the Carmelites; in addition they are either rhymed or at least have rhyming elements. Thus the gradual chant reads:

> Funeri dum traditur / Christi servus inclytus,
> mox in templo cernitur / vox divina caelitus.
> v. Clerus hinc prosequitur: / gaudet omnis populus.

> While they celebrated the funeral of this glorious servant of Christ, suddenly a voice from heaven was heard throughout the church.
> v. This voice the clergy heeded and all the people rejoiced.

The communion chant refers specifically to the miracles worked through invocation of the saint:

> Vacant aegri vigilantes / ad Alberti limina:
> surdi, claudi consequenter / invocantes numina
> febres fugat/ morbos curat / omnes sanat / noxium
> ventos placat/ maris seda / taedium.

> The sick watching at Albert's tomb are freed of their ills; therefore do the deaf and the lame invoke his powerful aid: he drives out fevers, cures all diseases, heals injuries, calms the winds, and grants a quiet sea.

A rubric on folio 112 of the same CarK7 prescribes different chants for the feast of St Albert, beginning with the Introit, 'Statuit ei dominus' with the other chants taken from the common of a confessor bishop. It is not clear what role these proper chants serve. CarK18, page 94 includes the same 'Alleluia v. Te rogamus', so this single chant for the feast reinforces the contents of CarK7, folio 140[v]. Chants for St Albert in CarK7 do not include any historiated initials, perhaps because it was not necessary to reinforce a unique Carmelite identity as was the case with images for Elijah and Elisha. The story of Albert, while important for the Carmelites, did not figure in the Elijan legend developed by medieval writers, so that such depictions were less important in the case of Albert than they were for the ancient prophets.

Reflections on these Four Carmelite Feasts.

The introduction of these four feasts during the later fifteenth or early sixteenth century marks a transformation in the Carmelite liturgy itself, from merely being the custodian of the ancient rite of the Holy Sepulchre into a distinctive rite, now different from the Latin Kingdom rite and certainly different from the diocesan liturgies of the towns in which the Carmelites were

located. It also marks a significant milestone in the growth of the Carmelites' self-understanding as a religious community, particularly their development of the relationship with the Virgin Mary from the 'lady of the place' on Mount Carmel to a proper feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, a story they could recount in the Matins readings. While the figures of Elijah [Elias] the prophet and his disciple Elisha [Eliseus] were probably integral to the spirituality of the Latin Kingdom, the Latin rite of the Holy Sepulchre, unlike the Orthodox tradition, never celebrated a proper feast for either prophet. Thus the incorporation of the feasts of St Elijah and St Elisha into their rite enabled the Carmelites to give liturgical expression to their long and unique relationship with the prophets. While these office texts remained biblical and orthodox, they could not help but recall the carefully crafted Carmelite arguments that linked them to the prophet Elijah. Such office texts thus provided a liturgical counterpart to the writings of Felip Ribot and other Carmelites who developed the geographical location of the Carmelite hermit settlement 'iuxta fontem Eliae' into a full-fledged historical relationship that conveniently obscured the centuries separating the activity of Elijah from the first Carmelite settlement on Mount Carmel. The liturgical celebration of St Albert of Sicily marked for the Carmelites a significant milestone, since by the end of the fifteenth century they were at last in a position to celebrate one of their own members as a saint, comparable for them in stature to Francis of Assisi or Dominic Guzmán. These Tridentine choir books are thus significant for preserving specifically Carmelite saints whose feasts were genuinely part of their medieval tradition but were only preserved in later medieval choir books which have not survived.

Swedish and Polish Saints. The addition of Swedish saints into CarK1 reflects the intersection of Polish and Swedish history, especially under the Vasa dynasty in Kraków [155] and in the war of 1655[156] whose devastating effects

[155] While the intricacies of Polish-Swedish political ties are beyond the scope of this book, Zygmunt Vasa, son of King John III of Sweden and Catherine Jagiellon, was elected king of Poland as Zygmunt III on 19 August 1587 and briefly was king of Sweden until he was deposed in 1599. The reign of the three Vasa kings, Zygmunt III (1587–1632), Władisław IV (1632–48), and Jan Kazimierz (1648–48) was generally marked by internal difficulties at home and external war with Sweden; see Zamoyski, *The Polish Way*, especially, pp. 126–43, for this discussion.

[156] Charles X Gustavus of Sweden began the invasion of Poland at the beginning of 1655; after the defeat of the Poles, led by King Jan Kazimierz and his army commander, Stefan Czarniecki at the battle of Zarnowiec in September 1655, the Swedish army fell

included the destruction of the Carmelite convent. It also reflects the religious and political changes brought about by the Protestant reformation, as a result of which Sweden adopted the Lutheran faith. Perhaps due to this turn of events, the Polish church decided to celebrate Swedish saints in their own liturgies, a practice which the local Carmelites adopted. Thus chants for several Swedish saints were added into CarK1, namely, St Henry (CarK1:393), St Eric (CarK1:394), St Ansgar (CarK1:395), St Sigfridus (CarK1:396), St Eskil (CarK1:397), St Botuidus (CarK1:398), St Olaf (CarK1:399), St Helen of Skővde (CarK1:400), and St Birgitta (CarK1:401, and CarK7:151^{v}).

The Carmelites of Gdańsk were particularly associated with the devotion to St Eric. Specifically in 1438, under the guidance of the Prior Dietrich Boetmaker, the convent informed the Archbishop of Uppsala, Olaf of St Lawrence, his chapter, and merchants coming from Stockholm, other parts of Sweden, and Prussia, that they were offering them space on their premises to build a chapel to St Eric, with the suggestion that they create there a brotherhood to St Eric.[157] The Carmelites thus obligated themselves to celebrate Mass daily in honour of St Eric for the intention of the confraternity; on the feast day, 18 May, they read his *historia* and offered special prayers to him, including sung vigils and vespers in honour of the feast. Each Sunday they read the memorials of the deceased members of the confraternity and preached a sermon about St Eric.[158] In 1439 a contract signed in Gdańsk on the feast of St Eric specified that the merchants of Sweden were allowed to store their merchandise in the convent and guaranteed the members of the confraternity that a Swedish-speaking priest would be available to tend their spiritual needs.[159] At the same time the Swedes provided much of the material for the construction and furnishing of the chapel. Thus the canon Jan Johanni from Uppsala donated a picture of St Eric; a merchant from Stockholm, Cord Rogge, donated books with the history, life, and miracles of St Eric. In 1439 Nicholas Ragwaldi, Archbishop of Uppsala, sent the relics of St Eric and appealed to the town council of Gdańsk for help in the construction of the new chapel. At the end of 1439 it was decided that the construction would be led by the confratres of St Eric in Gdańsk, who would provide for the chaplain, the

back on Kraków, which Czarniecki was unable to hold successfully. The Swedes looted and burned the churches of Kraków and other Polish cities. Zamoyski, *The Polish Way*, pp. 168–17; Davies, *Heart of Europe*, pp. 266–67.

[157] Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 151.

[158] Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 151.

[159] Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 151.

furnishing of the chapel and all the necessary liturgical accoutrements.[160] After the initial donation the Carmelites were responsible for replacing whatever became used or damaged. Thus the Gdańsk Carmelites used some prayers from the Visitation feast to commemorate the deceased members of the confraternity and also made some concessions in their liturgy, since the cult of St Eric was otherwise unknown within the order. Thus by including the feast of St Eric in their local liturgy the Gdańsk Carmelites gained popularity among the local merchants, both Swedes and Germans, who lived in Gdańsk and belonged to the confraternity.[161]

The celebration of saints from any specific nation tends to be a later development among the Carmelites, since their original foundation on Mount Carmel was closely linked to the rite of the Holy Sepulchre. Just as the influence of the founding convent of Prague (and probably its choir director, Fr Procopius) led the founding Carmelites in Kraków to include the Bohemian feasts of Sts Wenceslaus and Ludmila in the choir books they brought with them, so too eventually the Kraków Carmelites celebrated several specifically Polish saints, namely, Adalbert, Florian, Stanislaus, and Jadwiga,[162] in their own liturgy.

These saints are significant for the history of Poland and correspond to churches which are prominent, either by size or antiquity, in Kraków itself. Thus chants for St Adalbert were added in a later hand to CarK1 and also occur in later Carmelite manuscripts.[163] The same situation obtains for St Florian[164] and St Stanislaus.[165] St Jadwiga, the Duchess of Silesia who was responsible for the foundation of the Cistercian convent of Trzebnica in the Wrocław province

[160] Trajdos, *Zarania*, pp. 151–52.

[161] Trajdos, *Zarania*, p. 152.

[162] This St Jadwiga (Hedwig) refers to the Duchess of Silesia (*c.* 1174–1243) who married Henry I who became duke of Silesia in 1202; among her many worthwhile activities, she introduced the Franciscans and Dominicans into the realm. L. Siekaniec, 'Jadwiga of Poland, St', *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 694–95.

[163] Chants for St Adalbert are found in CarK1:370; CarK3:195^{v}; CarK8:18; CarK12:92; CarK16:111; CarK21:89; CarK25:99.

[164] Chants for St Florian are found in CarK1:372; CarK12:93; CarK21:93; CarK25:101^{v}.

[165] Chants for St Stanislaus are found in CarK1:372; CarK3:196^{v}; CarK3:204^{v}; CarK7:118; CarK8:19; CarK12:94; CarK16:112; CarK18:84; CarK21:93; CarK25:102.

of Poland in 1202[166] and who was canonized by Clement IV in 1267, is honoured with chants in a single manuscript.[167]

Proper Carmelite feasts. In addition to the pre-Tridentine Carmelite feasts of the Solemn Commemoration, Elijah, Elisha, and Albert mentioned above, the Tridentine Carmelite manuscripts included proper feasts for 1) St Angelus, the first Carmelite martyr; 2) St Simon Stock; 3) St Andrew Corsini; 4) St Teresa of Avila, with one reference to the piercing of her heart, or Transverberation; 5) St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi; and 6) saints of lesser celebration, including Berthold, Brocard and Cyril.

St Angelus (5 May).

As the first Carmelite martyr St Angelus has an analogous function to the Dominican St Peter Martyr. Like Albert of Sicily, Angelus has been celebrated from earliest times as a properly Carmelite saint. Andrew Jotischky discusses in detail the significance of Angelus's life in the Carmelite historical tradition. Ludovico Saggi dates the earliest life, purportedly written by a contemporary disciple named Enoch in the 1220s, to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century.[168] Jotischky provides a good summary of the life of Angelus:

> Born in 1185, Angelo and his twin brother John were orphaned young. Their parents, Jesse and Maria, were Jewish inhabitants of Jerusalem who had converted to Christianity through the guidance of Patriarch Nicodemus as a result of being granted a vision of the Blessed Virgin. The boys received catechetical instruction in the Carmelite convent on the site of the house of St Anne in Jerusalem and at the convent on Mt Sion. After their parents' death the boys were brought up in the Patriarch's household, but when Nicodemus sensed his own approaching death, he encouraged the boys to enter a monastery. They chose the Carmelites, who had received their rule from Nicodemus' predecessor, Albert of Vercelli. They first entered the Carmelite convent at St Anne's, but after a year moved to Mt Carmel itself. [. . .] Angelo and John were eventually ordained priests by Patriarch Onuphrios. The ceremony, which took place at the Jordan, provided Angelo with the opportunity to work a miracle when he enabled a crowd of people to cross the river dry-shod by calming the waters. This was his second miracle: he had already saved his brother from drowning in the spring of Elijah on Mt Carmel. Angelo

[166] Siekaniec, 'Jadwiga of Poland, St'.

[167] The chants for St Hedwig occur in CarK7:46.

[168] Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, p. 192, citing Ludovicus M. Saggi, O. Carm., *Sant' Angelo di Sicilia: Studio sulla vita, devozione, folklore*, Textus et studia Carmelitana, 6 (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum 1962), pp. 73–142, especially pp. 131–33.

> went on to perform a miracle of healing in Bethlehem and to raise seven people from the dead. [. . .] Angelo received a vision in which Christ told him that he was to win a martyr's crown: he was to go to Sicily and preach against the abominations practised by Count Berengar, who had committed incest with his sister. [. . .] Angelo set out for Sicily with three companions: Joseph of Emmaus, Peter of Bethlehem, and Enoch. [. . .] The target of his mission, Count Berengar, denied Angelo's public allegations of incest, but his sister was shamed into repentance. As foretold, Angelo was murdered — by the count himself — while preaching to a large crowd.[169]

Jotischky points out the influence of other sources on the *Vita* of Angelus, including the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great concerning his reviving a dead boy, and also the *Life of St Maurus* and the *Life of St Placidus*. Numerous elements are common to the life of St Angelus and the life of the Dominican St Peter of Verona (d. 1252), including his preaching activity and his naming his companions on the journey to martyrdom.[170] Featured in this story is the meeting in the church of St John Lateran of St Angelus with Sts Dominic and Francis, thus incorporating Angelus into an already established tradition. Jotischky points out the advantage of having Angelus rather than Albert meet with Francis and Dominic, since a meeting with Albert would make him comparable to a founder and thus undermine the role of Elijah and, with it, the earlier dating of the Carmelites.[171] The feast of St Angelus is included as a *duplex* feast in the Carmelite ordinal of 1544, but with only the general directive that the chants be taken from the common of a martyr. The ordinal does allow for the celebration of a proper office where available ('ubi vero fuerit proprium officium, illud poterit pronunciari').[172] Table 26 shows the chants for St Angelus, based on the antiphonal Rome, San Martino ai Monti, codex E (CarRME), which occur in several of the Kraków eighteenth-century manuscripts and a printed Carmelite breviary from 1700.[173] These chants for St Angelus, taken from his *vita*, following the Tridentine aesthetic, are not rhymed but are proper to the saint. The chant 'Alleluia. v. Angelum Domini descendet' in CarK7, folio 116^{v}, includes an

[169] Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, pp. 194–95.

[170] Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, p. 197, relying on Saggi, *Sant' Angelo*.

[171] Jotischky, *Carmelites and Antiquity*, p. 198.

[172] *Ordinale divinorum officiorum*, fol. 85.

[173] The Kraków Carmelite manuscripts are CarK7:45; CarK7:46v; CarK7:116v; CarK16:45; CarK18:84; and CarK19:55. The breviary is *Breviarium Fratrum Ordinis B[eatissi]mae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmeli juxta Hierosolymitanae Ecclesia antiquam consuetudinem*, Pars Hyemalis (Venetiis: Apud Cieras, 1700).

historiated 'A' containing a small image of Angelus, dressed in a Carmelite habit with white cloak, holding the cross in his left hand while one sword pierces his breast and another one his head, thus clearly identifying him as the first Carmelite martyr. Despite its small size, only the height of one staff of music, this illumination is significant for its deliberate depiction of Angelus, since it highlights his importance as a Carmelite saint in this choir book.

Table 26: Feast of St Angelus

Chant Service	Chant Prayer	Incipit	Car RME	Car K16	Car K19	Brev
1Vesp	Ant1	De torrente in via	245	45	55	714
	Ant2	Miserator Dominus	246	45	56	714
	Ant3	Peccator irascebatur	247	45	56	714
	Ant4	Letata est mater	248	45	56	714
	Ant5	Flavit Spiritus Domini	249	45	57	714
	Mag	Quinque plagis lethalibus				
		Ps. Magnificat	250	46	57	715
Matins	Inv	Regem Angelorum				
		Ps. Venite	253			715
Noct1	Ant1	In solitudine deserti				
		Ps. Beatus vir	254			715
	Ant2	Dum impii starent				
		Ps. Quare fremuerunt	256			715
	Ant3	Cum multi insurgerent				
		Ps. Domini quid	257			715
	R1	Continua abstinentia				
		v. Ferrea semper camisia	259			716
	R2	Angelus ad Iordanem				
		v. Tunc steterunt aque	261			716
	R3	Angelus ab angelo Dei				
		v. In solitudine toto affectu				
		v. Gloria patri	264			716
Noct2	Ant1	Sacrificium iustitie				
		Ps. Cum invocarem	266			717
	Ant2	Introivit Angelus				
		Ps. Verba mea	268			717
	Ant3	Admirabile est nomen				
		Ps. Domine Dominus	269			717

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	Car RME	Car K16	Car K19	Brev
	R1	Christus ex deserto				
		v. Erit dulce mihi	270			717
	R2	Orante sancto Angelo				
		v. Quicumque vestrum	273			717
	R3	Instar patris sui				
		v. Scitote dixit adolescens				
		v. Gloria patri	275			718
Noct3	Ant1	In Domino confisus				
		Ps. In Domino confido	278			718
	Ant2	In Carmeli religione				
		Ps. Domine quis habitabit	280			718
	Ant3	In virtute Angeli letatus				
		Ps. Domine in virtute	281			718
	R1	Sanctus Ioannes Baptista				
		v. Intrepidus Christi miles	282			719
	R2	Moriente Angelo audita				
		v. Tu in superna Ierusalem	285			719
	R3	In deserto orabat Angelus				
		v. Miserere miserere				
		v. Gloria patri	287			719
Lauds	Ant1	Domine testimonia tua				
		Ps. Dominus regnavit	291	46	58**	719
	Ant2	Scitote quoniam Dominus				
		Ps. Jubilate	292	46	58	719
	Ant3	In terra deserta Angelus				
		Ps. Deus Deus meus	294	47	59	719
	Ant4	Benedicite Domino omnes				
		Ps. Benedicite	295	47	59	719
	Ant5	Exaltatum est nomen Angeli				
		Ps. Laudate Dominum	297	47	59	719
	Ben	Sancte Angele qui mutis				
		Ps. Benedictus	297			720
2Vesp	Mag	Ad Dominum clamavit				
		Ps. Magnficiat	299	47	59	720

** Ad Laudes et per horas

St Simon Stock (16 May).

St Simon Stock, the thirteenth-century Prior General to whom the Virgin Mary is said to have appeared wearing the Carmelite scapular and bearing with it a promise that whoever wears it faithfully will be saved,[174] is otherwise enshrouded in mystery. The earliest written account of the vision is part of a catalogue included in the *Viridarium* of the prior general, John Grossi, written some time between 1413 and 1426.[175] The priory of Aylesford in England is the traditional site of the vision and, after St Simon's death and burial in Bordeaux, the place where his relics were eventually translated. St Simon is mentioned in three early sources: in a catalogue of priors general written by Grossi, who states that he was from England and was buried in Bordeaux, as recorded in an ordinal from Orange;[176] in a necrology from the Carmine of Florence written by Giovanni Bartoli (d. 1396);[177] and by the Prior General Henry Silvio who, after visiting Bordeaux in 1604, wrote both of the devotion to the saint as practised there and of choral books which contained his musical office, thus dating his cult back to the early 1500s, if not earlier.[178] These choral books have not survived, and the Kraków antiphonal of 1468 is too early to mention the feast. Richard Copsey notes the presence of the office in the Kilcormic missal, copied in Ireland in 1458 and in an Irish breviary from 1489 which mentions him in the calendar[179] but rightly notes that St Simon Stock was not celebrated as a universal feast in the order until 1564, when a common calendar was approved by the General Chapter.[180] Table 27 shows the chants for St Simon Stock, based

[174] For a succinct and credible account of St Simon in connection with the scapular devotion, see Copsey, 'Simon Stock', pp. 652–83.

[175] Copsey, 'Simon Stock', pp. 652–53. Grossi's *Viridarium* was printed in *Speculum Carmelitarum*, ed. by Joannes Baptista de Cathaneis O. Carm. (Venice, 1507), fols 102^{v}–103.

[176] Copsey, 'Simon Stock', p. 654, citing *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, ed. by Staring, p. 323. The original citation is: 'Frater Simon Stock, de provincia Angliae, qui sepultus est Burdigaliae et claruit multis miraculis; obiit 16 die maii, prout notatur in calendario ordinalis conventus Auraynte'.

[177] Here the text reads, 'Madius 16. Frater Simon Stoh de provincia Anglie fuit prior generalis et sanctus homo et claruit multis miraculis; sepultus est Burdeghalis in provincia Vasconie'. *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*,ed. by Staring, p. 324, cited in Copsey, 'Simon Stock', p. 655.

[178] Copsey, 'Simon Stock', pp. 655–66; Smet, *Carmelites*, III:1, 105.

[179] Copsey, 'Simon Stock', p. 679.

[180] *Acta Capituli Generalium*, ed. by Wessels, I, 460.

on the antiphonal Rome, San Martino ai Monti, codex E (CarRME), pages 306–59, along with corresponding chants in the Kraków manuscripts. Since the feast was only celebrated after the Council of Trent, its chants predictably occur only in eighteenth-century Kraków manuscripts.[181]

Table 27: Feast of St Simon Stock

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	Car RME	Car K16	Car K19	Brev
1Vesp	Ant1	Hic vir despiciens mundum	306	48	60	740
	Ant2	Fidelis servus et prudens	307	49	60	740
	Ant3	In mandatis Dei	308	49	61	740
	Ant4	Puer in quercu Dominum	309	49	61	740
	Ant5	Iudicia sua Simoni	310	49	61	740
	R	Bonitatem Dei meditabatur				
		v. Sicut oculi servorum				
		v. Gloria patri	311			740
	Mag	Paupertatis evangelice				
		Ps. Magnificat	314	49	61	740
Matins	Inv	Regi Christo iubilemus				
		Ps. Venite	316			741
Noct1	Ant1	Secus decursus aquarum				
		Ps. Beatus vir	317			741
	Ant2	Beatus Simon in timore				
		Ps. Quare fremuerunt	318			741
	Ant3	Domine qui es gloria				
		Ps. Domine quid	320			741
	V	Amavit eum				741
	R1	Sanctum religionis				
		v. Tanquam lignum plantatum	321			741
	R2	Anguste vie semitas				
		v. Probavit sanctum suum	324			741
	R3	Justus pater Simon corpus				
		v. Ecce elongavit fugiens				
		v. Gloria patri	326			742

[181] CarK7:119v; CarK16:48; CarK18:84; CarK19:60.

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	Car RME	Car K16	Car K19	Brev
Noct2	Ant1	In pace conscientie	328			742
		Ps. Dum invocarem				
	Ant2	Domine scuto protectionis				
		Ps. Verba mea	329			742
	Ant3	Elevasti Domine				
		Ps. Domine Dominus	330			742
	R1	Dum sacrum mysterium				
		v. Memoriam fecit mirabilium	332			742
	R2	Germanus sancti patris				
		v. Mirabilis Deus in sanctis	334			743
	R3	Vestitus innocentie toga				
		v. Ad omnia Christi mandata				
		v. Gloria patri	338			743
Noct3	Ant1	Sine macula religionem				
		Ps. Domine quis	340			743
	Ant2	Desiderium cordis eius				
		Ps. Domine in virtute	342			743
	Ant3	Virga regularis correctionis				
		Ps. Domini est terra	343			744
	V	Justus ut palma				744
	R1	In pastorali regimine				
		v. Iucunditatem et exultationem	344			744
	R2	Ampliavit gentem suam				
		v. Opera sacri patris velut	346			744
	R3	Demonis insidias non				
		v. Ego servus tuus sum				
		v. Gloria patri	348			744
Lauds	Ant1	Decorem et fortitudinem				
		Ps. Dominus regnavit	351	50	62**	744
	Ant2	Iubilet Deo omnis terra				
		Ps. Jubilate	352	50	62	744
	Ant3	In velamento fervide				
		Ps. Deus Deus meus	353	50	62	744
	Ant4	Benedictio Domini super				
		Ps. Benedicite	354	50	63	744
	Ant5	In pace et equitate				
		Ps. Laudate Dominum	355	51	63	744

Chant Service	Chant Prayer	Incipit	Car RME	Car K16	Car K19	Brev
	Ben	Beatus Simon quasi stella				
		Ps. Benedictus	356			745
2Vesp	Mag	Magnificavit Dominus				
		Ps. Magnficat	358	51	63	745

**Ad Laudes et per horas

St Andrew Corsini (4 February).

Born in Florence at the outset of the fourteenth century, Andrew Corsini is first mentioned in a document of 3 August 1338 as the eighteenth (presumably in seniority) of fifty-two religious in the Carmine of Florence.[182] Named a councillor of the convent and bachelor in the chapter of 1344, then lector in June 1347, he was made Provincial of Tuscany in 1348 and then named Bishop of Fiesole by Clement VI on 31 October 1349.[183] He died on 6 January 1374 (1373 according to the Florentine calendar), reportedly after being told by the Virgin Mary on Christmas night of 1373 that his death was imminent.[184] He was buried in Fiesole but the body was stolen on 2 February and, after three days of viewing, buried in Florence. Twelve years later his still incorrupt body was buried in a special monument in the Carmine of Florence.[185] Andrew is mentioned in a catalogue of Carmelite saints dating to the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. The first *vita* of the saint is attributed to the Carmelite Peter Del Castagno, datable to the mid-fifteenth century and preserved in a manuscript from the end of the fifteenth century, MS Vat. lat. 3813.[186] The victory of the Florentines at the battle of Anghiari in 1440, which happened after a procession to the tomb of the saint ostensibly requested by the saint himself on 5 June 1440,[187] did much to stimulate

[182] 'Andrew Corsini (d. 1374), Saint, bishop', in *Saints of Carmel*, pp. 23–32.

[183] 'Andrew Corsini', p. 23.

[184] 'Andrew Corsini', p. 26.

[185] 'Andrew Corsini', pp. 26-27.

[186] For a discussion of a history of this *vita* see 'Andrew Corsini', pp. 27–29.

[187] 'Andrew Corsini', p. 30.

devotion to him.[188] He was canonized by Urban VIII on 29 April 1629[189] and was revered among the Carmelites as well as the people of Florence, especially in the San Frediano district near the Carmine. Table 28 shows the chants for this feast, celebrated on 9 January, based on the antiphonal Rome, San Martino ai Monti, codex D (CarRMD), pages 485–537, and shows the correspondences in several Kraków manuscripts.[190] Like many eighteenth-century offices, these texts are based on the life of the saint rather than the scriptures, but are not rhymed. The music for these chants conforms to a Tridentine aesthetic, especially as concerns the humanistic approach to Latin, emphasizing the penultimate syllable of the word in the longer antiphons and responsories.

Table 28: Feast of St Andrew Corsini

Chant		Incipit	CarRMD	CarK16	CarK19
Service	Prayer				
1Vesp	Mag	Nobilis genere fide	485	25	43
Noct1	Ant1	Carmeli sylva gaudeat	487		
	Ant2	Fesulani episcopatus	488		
	Ant3	Speciosus inter filios	490		
	R1	Dum beatus Andreas			
		v. Surrexit et genibus	491		
	R2	Gloria Carmeli beatus			
		v. Gaudeat mater ecclesia	494		
	R3	Beatus Andreas apud			
		v. Spiritus sanctus per os			
		v. Gloria patri	497		
Noct2	Ant1	Dum Florentini iniusto	500		
	Ant2	Viduas et pupillos beatus	501		
	Ant3	Esto fidelis usque ad mortem	502		
	R1	Nobili genere natus vilia			
		v. Divitias magistratus	503		

[188] 'Andrew Corsini', p. 30; Giovanni Ciapelli, 'A Trecento Bishop as Seen by Quattrocento Florentines: Sant' Andrea Corsini, His "Life", and the Battle of Anghiari', in *Portraits of Medieval and Renaissance Living: Essays in Memory of David Herlihy*, ed. by Samuel K. Cohn Jr. and Steven A. Epstein (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 283–98.

[189] 'Andrew Corsini', p. 30; Ciapelli, 'A Trecento Bishop', p. 298 n. 80.

[190] CarK7:85v; CarK16:25; CarK18:74; CarK18:112; CarK19:43; CarK21:76; CarKA:113

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	CarRMD	CarK16	CarK19
	R2	Gloriosus confessor Andreas v. Virgo religionis claustra	507		
	R3	Ordo Carmeli gaudeat v. In summis coelorum v. Gloria patri	510		
Noct3	Ant1	Gloria Carmeli beatus	514		
	Ant2	Tu morbos pellis pestem	515		
	Ant3	Surrexit puella et flexis	516		
	R1	Hic est confessor egregius v. Ut ventris sui primitias	518		
	R2	Nobilis genere fide nobilior v. Beati Andree confessoris	520		
	R3	Pastor eternus cum devoti v. Quasi lupum initio v. Gloria patri	523		
Lauds	Ant1	Hic est Marie virginis	527	25	43
	Ant2	Te novit Anglia	528	26	44
	Ant3	Integer vivens moribus	529	26	44
	Ant4	Hymnum Deo alacriter	531	26	44
	Ant5	Ieiuniis et abstinentia	532	27	45
	Ben	Gloriosi confessoris Andree Ps. Benedictus	533		
2Vesp	Mag	Quis est iste qui ascendit Ps. Magnificat	536	27	45

St Teresa of Avila (15 October).

St Teresa of Avila (1515–82),[191] the sixteenth-century Spanish mystic and reformer of the Carmelite order, was canonized by Gregory XV on 12 March 1622.[192] The Carmelites introduced her feast into their liturgy in 1649 with the rank of double major with octave; the Discalced Carmelite order accepted the proper office for St Teresa into its rite in 1700 and the proper Mass in 1720.[193] Table 29 shows the chants for her office, based on the antiphonal Rome, Santa

[191] Valentine Macca and Peter Cannata, 'Teresa of Jesus (Teresa of Avila, 1515–1582)', in *Saints of Carmel*, pp. 277–305.

[192] Macca and Cannata, 'Teresa of Jesus', p. 295.

[193] Macca and Cannata, 'Teresa of Jesus', p. 296.

Maria in Traspontina, codex H (CarRTH), folio 9v–13, with appropriate references to chants in the Kraków manuscripts, which included chants for her feast[194] as well as for the feast of her Transverberation, or the piercing of her heart.[195] The San Martino manuscripts, written around 1702, do not contain the feast of St Teresa and the Matins chants are not available in the other sources.

Table 29: Feast of St. Teresa of Avila

Chant		Incipit	CarRTH	CarK16	CarK19
Service	Prayer				
1Vesp	Ant1	Zelo zelata sum	9v	97	137
	Ant2	Vulnerasti cor	10	98	137
	Ant3	Clavo dextera tue	10	98	137
	Ant4	Fulcite me floribus	10v	98	137
	Ant5	Mihi absit gloriari	10v	98	137
	Mag	Quesivi in sponsam			
		Ps. Magnificat	11	99	138
Lauds	Ben	Dedit ei Dominus			
		Ps. Benedictus	11v		
2Vesp	Ant1	Hec est virgo sapiens	12	99	138
	Ant2	Date ei de fructu	12	99	138
	Ant3	Sitivit in te	12v	99	138
	Ant4	Trahe me post te	12v	99	139
	Ant5	Letare Teresia	13	100	139
	Mag	Sapientiam eius			
		Ps. Magnificat	13	100	139

[194] CarK7:151v; CarK16:97; CarK18:102; CarK19:137, 139.

[195] CarK16:84.

St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi (25 May).

The Florentine Carmelite nun St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi, famous for her austerity of life, substantial suffering, mystical visions, ecstasies, and for the spiritual stigmata, which she received on 15 April 1585, was highly venerated among the Carmelites,[196] who actively promoted her cult, especially after her canonization on 28 April 1669.[197] Her feast day, 25 May, supplanted the feast of the Three Marys from the medieval Carmelite rite. She was particularly venerated in Kraków, where one of the paintings in the basilica church commemorates her offering the Polish nation to God. The same Polish Carmelite Martin Rubczyński who was responsible for the production of the Lwów manuscripts also wrote the first life of St Mary Magdalene de' Pazzi in Polish.[198] Table 30 shows the chants for her office, based on Rome, San Martino ai Monti, codex E (CarRME), pages 360–411, with appropriate references to correspondences in several of the Kraków codices and in the printed Carmelite breviary of 1700.[199] The Matins readings for St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi come from the Song of Songs (Readings 1–3) and a sermon of St Ambrose on virginity (readings 4–6); Reading 7 begins on the Gospel text of Matthew 11, wherein Jesus tells Peter that what God has hidden from the learned and the clever he has revealed to the little ones, followed by a homily of St Augustine (Readings 7–9). The Benedictus antiphon for Lauds is: 'Magdalene Virgo optimam partem elegit, quae non auferetur ab ea: purissima in vita, adhuc post mortem ab omni corruptione manet immunis'. Thus the text about choosing the better part, that is, the contemplative way of prayer over the active life, once attributed to Mary the sister of Lazarus and in the Carmelite rite attributed to Mary Magdalene, is now in turn applied to Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi; the second half of the antiphon refers to her body being preserved incorrupt, which is in fact the case; it is still preserved in the same Florentine convent where she spent her life.

[196] Herman Ancilli, 'Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi (1566–1607)', in *Saints of Carmel*, pp. 195–220.

[197] Ancilli, 'Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi', p. 216.

[198] Smet, *Carmelites*, II, 447; Opielka, 'Provinciae Poloniae', pp. 516–17.

[199] CarK7:120; CarK16:51; CarK18:84; CarK18:117; CarK19:64; CarK33:39. *Breviarium fratrum Ordinis*.

Table 30: Feast of St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit	Car RME	Car K16	Brev
1Vesp	Ant1	De torrente passionis	360	51	752
	Ant2	Memoriam fecit mirabilium	361	51	752
	Ant3	Escam dedit pauperibus	362	52	752
	Ant4	Excelsus Dominus qui	363	52	752
	Ant5	Annuntiavit illi Dominus	364	52	752
	R	Egredimini	365*		
	Mag	Aque multe non potuerunt			
		Ps. Magnificat	365	52	753
Matins	Inv	Iesum sponsum virginum			
		Ps. Venite	366		753
Noct1	Ant1	Ex ore puelle perfecisti			
		Ps. Domine Dominus	368		753
	Ant2	Dominus prestitit sapientiam			
		Ps. Celi enarrant	369		753
	Ant3	Accepit benedictionem			
		Ps. Domini est terra	370		754
	R1	Flos campi dilectus meus			
		v. Sicut malus inter ligna	371		754
	R2	Sponsa Iesu ardet charitate			
		v. Fulcite me floribus stipate	373		754
	R3	O felicem Magdalene			
		v. Deficit cor meum et caro			
		v. Gloria patri	375		754
Noct2	Ant1	Magdalena oblita est			
		Ps. Eructavit cor	378		754
	Ant2	Deus adiutor in			
		Ps. Dominus noster	379		754
	Ant3	Magdalene fundamenta			
		Ps. Fundamenta	380		755
	R1	Cum adhuc iunior			
		v. Spiritus tuus bonus	381		755
	R2	Certamen forte dedit illi			
		v. Secundum multitudinem	384		756
	R3	Absit mihi gloriari			
		v. Vivo ego iam non ego			
		v. Gloria patri	387		756

Chant Service	Prayer	Incipit		Car RME	Car K16	Brev
Noct3	Ant1	Introivit in atria sancta				
		Ps.	Cantate Domino j.	389		756
	Ant2	De manu demonum				
		Ps.	Dominus regnavit exultet	390		756
	Ant3	Mons Carmeli exultet				
		Ps.	Cantate Domino ij	391		756
	R1	Dilexi decorem domus				
		v.	Quam dilecta tabernacula	392		756
	R2	Fasciculus myrrhe dilectus				
		v.	Adiuro vos filie	396		757
	R3	Egredimini filie Sion				
		v.	Collocavit super caput			
		v.	Gloria patri	398		757
Lauds	Ant1	Mirabilis in Magdalena				
		Ps.	Regnavit	401	53	757
	Ant2	Relictis seculi pompis				
		Ps.	Jubilate	403	53	757
	Ant3	In terra deserta tentationum				
		Ps.	Deus Deus meus	404	53	757
	Ant4	Patrem et Filium cum sancto				
		Ps.	Benedicite	405	53	757
	Ant5	In tympano et choro in cordis				
		Ps.	Laudate Dominum	407	54	757
	Ben	Magdalena virgo potimam				
		Ps.	Benedictus	408		758
2Vesp	Mag	Veni sponsa de Libano				
		Ps.	Magnificat	410	54	758

The early Carmelites.

The medieval Carmelite liturgy did not celebrate the founding hermits or other early Carmelites. The unknown 'B' to whom Innocent addressed the text of the revised rule in 1247 eventually took on a more specific identity, usually known as 'Brocard'; similarly the tradition grew that Berthold was one of the original hermits, and that one of their number also was known as Cyril. These developments occurred without the support of any written documentation from the early thirteenth century. Thus the Kraków manuscripts mention feasts

for Berthold (29 March),[200] Brocard (2 September),[201] and Cyril of Jerusalem (18 March).[202]

Part III: Musical Characteristics

Having discussed the feasts contained in the later Kraków antiphonaries, both the medieval feasts that continued to be celebrated in the early-modern period and the feasts newly added after the Council of Trent, we now discuss the musical characteristics of several of these pieces. These chants fall into three categories: 1) medieval chants which continued to be celebrated; 2) chants from feasts celebrated in the late-medieval period but only preserved in Tridentine manuscripts; and 3) chants for the newer feasts incorporated into the Carmelite liturgy after the Council of Trent.

Medieval Chants Celebrated in the Tridentine Liturgy

Having illustrated the importance of the feast of St Mary Magdalene for the Carmelite liturgy in both the medieval and early-modern periods, we compare medieval and Tridentine examples of two of its antiphons.

Example 19: The Magnificat antiphon 'Recumbente Iesu' for the feast of St Mary Magdalene.

The medieval version of this piece occurs in CarK1, page 81 (Example 19a) and its Tridentine counterpart in CarK12, page 44 (Example 19b). This example clearly shows that the Carmelites who compiled CarK12 preserved the medieval melody intact. The humanistic approach to Latin pronunciation after the Council of Trent advocated dotting a note to elongate a stressed syllable, followed by a lozenge-shaped note for the following unstressed syllable. This ensured that unstressed syllables were clearly unstressed by having a shorter (lozenge) note value than the others. This pattern is not followed in these two

[200] Chant for St Berthold are found in CarK18:62; CarK18:122.

[201] Chants for St Brocard occur in CarK14:nn; 22:24.

[202] Chants for St Cyril are found in CarK7:107; CarK18:105; Cyril of Alexandria (9 February) and Cyril of Constantinople (6 March) also occur in the Tridentine Carmelite calendar. We presume that the Cyril in question is Cyril of Jerusalem, given his direct Holy Land association.

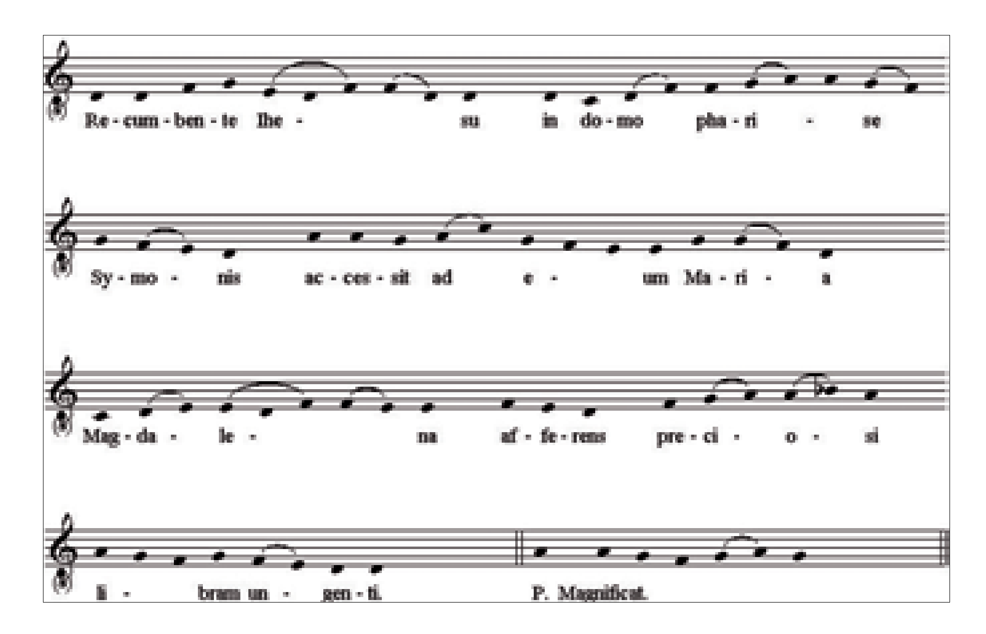
Carmelite examples; evidently it was more important for the revisers of CarK1 to leave the melody intact and for the compilers of CarK12 to respect the medieval format of the antiphon, whose melismas generally complied with such humanistic principles anyway, especially on such syllables as '[Magda-]le[-na].

Example 20: The antiphon 'Laudibus excelsis' for the feast of St Mary Magdalene.

In the case of the antiphon 'Laudibus excelsis', Example 20a in CarK1, page 91 and Example 20b in CarK12 page 45, the compilers of CarK12 added the word 'sanctae' before 'Mariae Magdalenae', using the note *g* on each syllable of 'sanctae' to maintain melodic consistency, since *g* serves as the last note of the preceding word 'solemnitate' and the first note of the following word 'Mariae'. Otherwise the melodic contours of both pieces are identical. Thus great care was taken to ensure that the early-modern version of this antiphon preserved the melody of the medieval antiphon.

Example 21: The antiphon 'O Anna matrona' for the feast of St Anne.

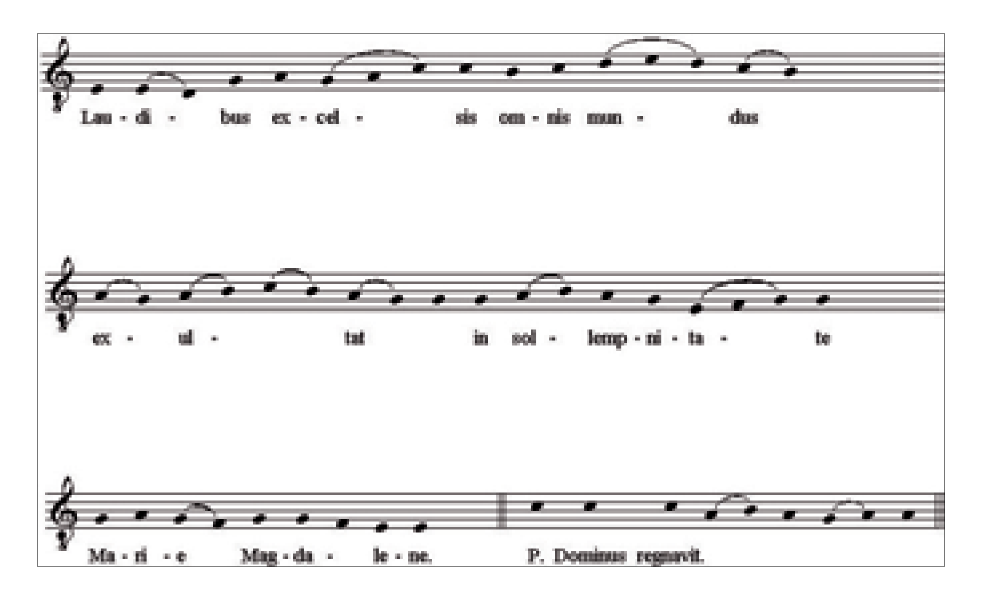
We have discussed in Chapter 3 that for the feast of St Anne the Prague and Kraków Carmelites included the 'Gaude Sion filie laudantes' rhymed office, which Sibert's instructions for the feast permitted but which nonetheless was different from the rhymed office used by the Mainz and Florentine Carmelites. In revising the medieval choir book the Carmelites preserved the decorated initial 'G' of 'Gaude' and wrote a palimpsest antiphon, including text and music, over the text and music of 'Gaude Sion filie laudantes'. Fortunately, they left the rest of the office intact; it was presumably no longer used, but still formed part of the Carmelite liturgical heritage. Thus the Magnificat antiphon, '[O] Anna matrona' was written over the first Vespers antiphon in CarK1, page 94. Example 21a shows this version of this chant resulting from this palimpsest; little attempt was made in the original to conform the rhymed lines in this chant to those of the original 'Gaude Sion' antiphon. Example 21b, the later version in CarK25, fol. 118^{v}, like the earlier chant, is in mode 1, with final on *d*. The range is from *c* to d^1 in CarK25 and from *c* to e^1 in the CarK1 version. 'O Anna matrona' also features rhymed endings at 'nobilis' and 'Angelis', 'suo', and 'collegio'. The endings of these words on *d*, *d*, *a*, and *d* respectively are the same in both versions, suggesting that the Kraków Carmelites made at least some attempt to conform the general contour of the newer melody to that of the older antiphon.



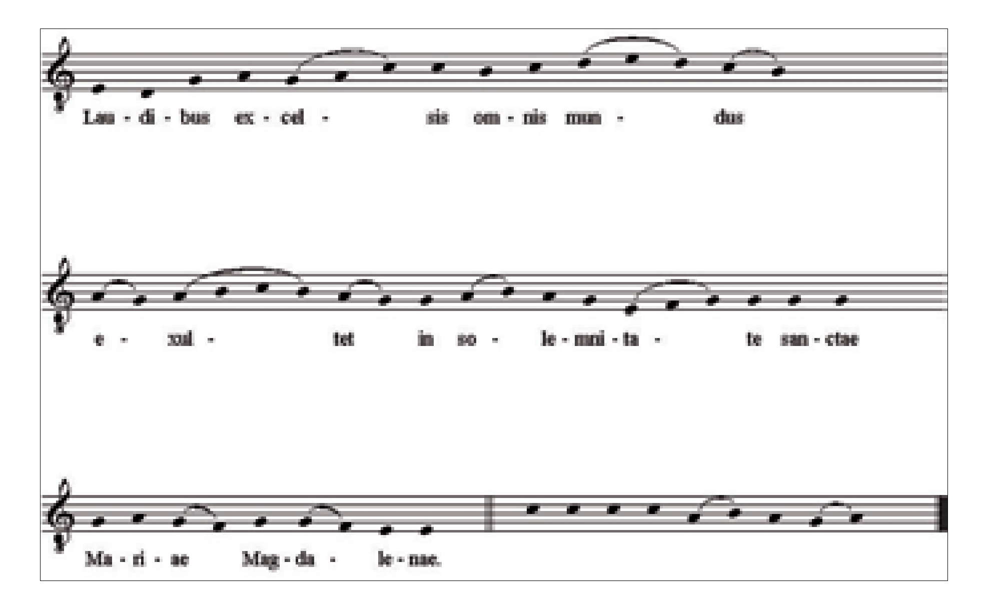
Example 19a: The Magnificat antiphon 'Recumbente' in CarK1, p. 81.



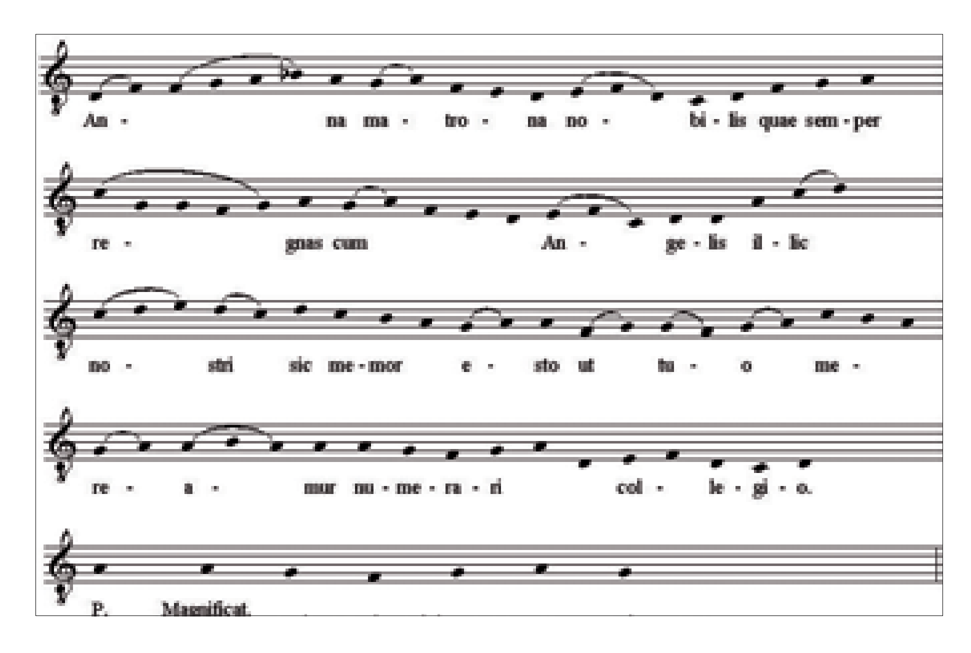
Example 19b: The Magnificat antiphon, 'Recumbente' in CarK12, p. 44.



Example 20a: The antiphon 'Laudibus excelsis' in CarK1, p. 91.



Example 20b: The antiphon 'Laudibus excelsis' in CarK12, p. 45.



Example 21a: The antiphon ‘Anna matrona’ in CarK1, p. 94.



Example 21b: The antiphon ‘O Anna matrona’ in CarK25, fol. 118v.

Example 22: The antiphon 'Anna parens' for the feast of St Anne.

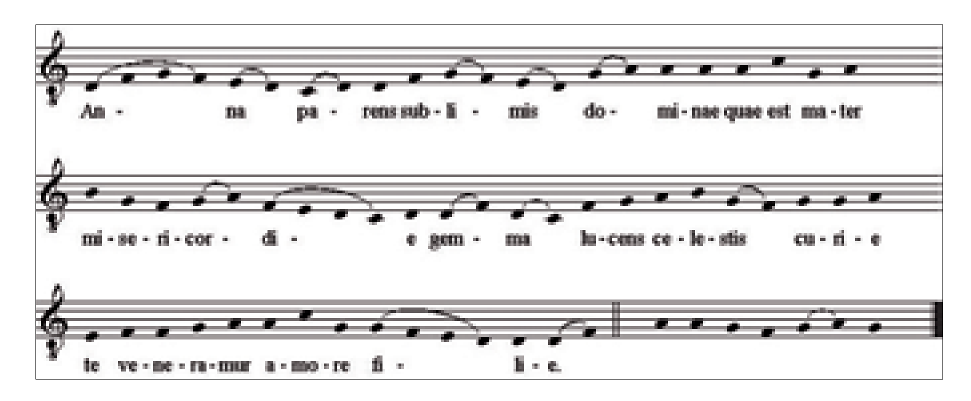
The other important antiphon for St Anne, 'Anna parens', as shown in CarK12, page 47 and CarK25, folio 118v, represents two different melodic versions of the same piece, both in mode 1, with final on *d*. The version of this piece in CarK1, pages 97–98 has been emended, presumably to accommodate the medieval version to the early-modern one, since it is the same as the CarK12 melody. The version in Mainz, Dom- und Diőzesanmuseum, Codex C [CarMC], folio 237v has a different melody from the CarK12 version. The range of the piece in CarK12 is greater, from *c* to e^1, suggesting that the later chant of CarK25 was substantially simplified, since its range is reduced and it has fewer notes. The text is, however, identical in the two versions. The text of this antiphon is somewhat rhymed, with 'dominae' rhyming with 'cordiae', 'curiae', and 'filiae' but the music in both Examples 22a and 22b is standard. In a couple of instances the dotted note and lozenge note are used in the CarK12 version; thus the last note of the first syllable of 'dominae' is dotted, with the middle syllable using a lozenge-shaped note. A similar situation applies to '[miseri-]cordi[-ae], curi[-ae] and fili[-ae]'.

Example 23: The antiphon 'De qua vox' for the feast of the Transfiguration.

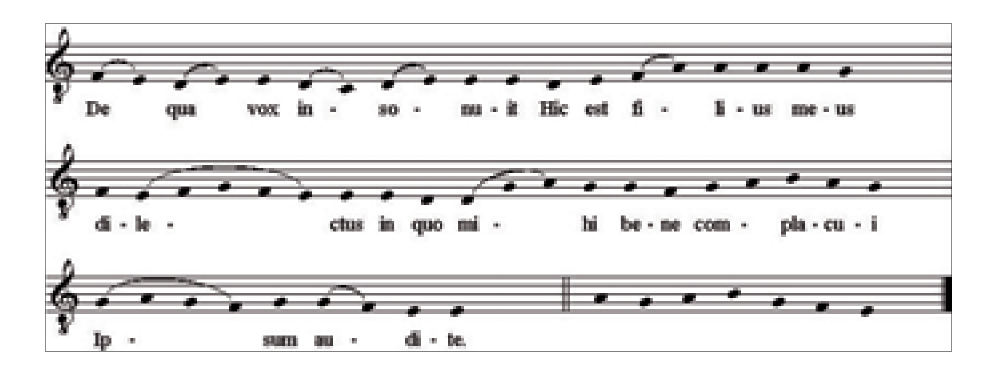
A comparison of this melody from CarK12, page 49 with the medieval version from CarK1 (Example 3) demonstrates that the melody in both cases is basically identical. Thus it was important for the Carmelites in the early-modern period to preserve both the melody and text of this important chant for the Transfiguration intact. This piece also emphasizes the stressed sylllable of a word, so that at 'filius' the second note on 'fi[-lius]' is dotted and the middle syllable on 'li' has a lozenge-shaped note; a similar situation occurs at 'complacui', where the second syllable has a dotted note, followed by a lozenge for the unstressed third syllable.

An - na Pa - rens su - bli - mis
do - mi - nae quae est ma - ter mi - se -
ri - cor - di - ae gem - ma lu -
cens cae - le - stis cur - ri - ae
te ve - ne - ra - mur a -
mo - re fi - li - ae.

Example 22a: The antiphon 'Anna parens' in CarK12, p. 47.



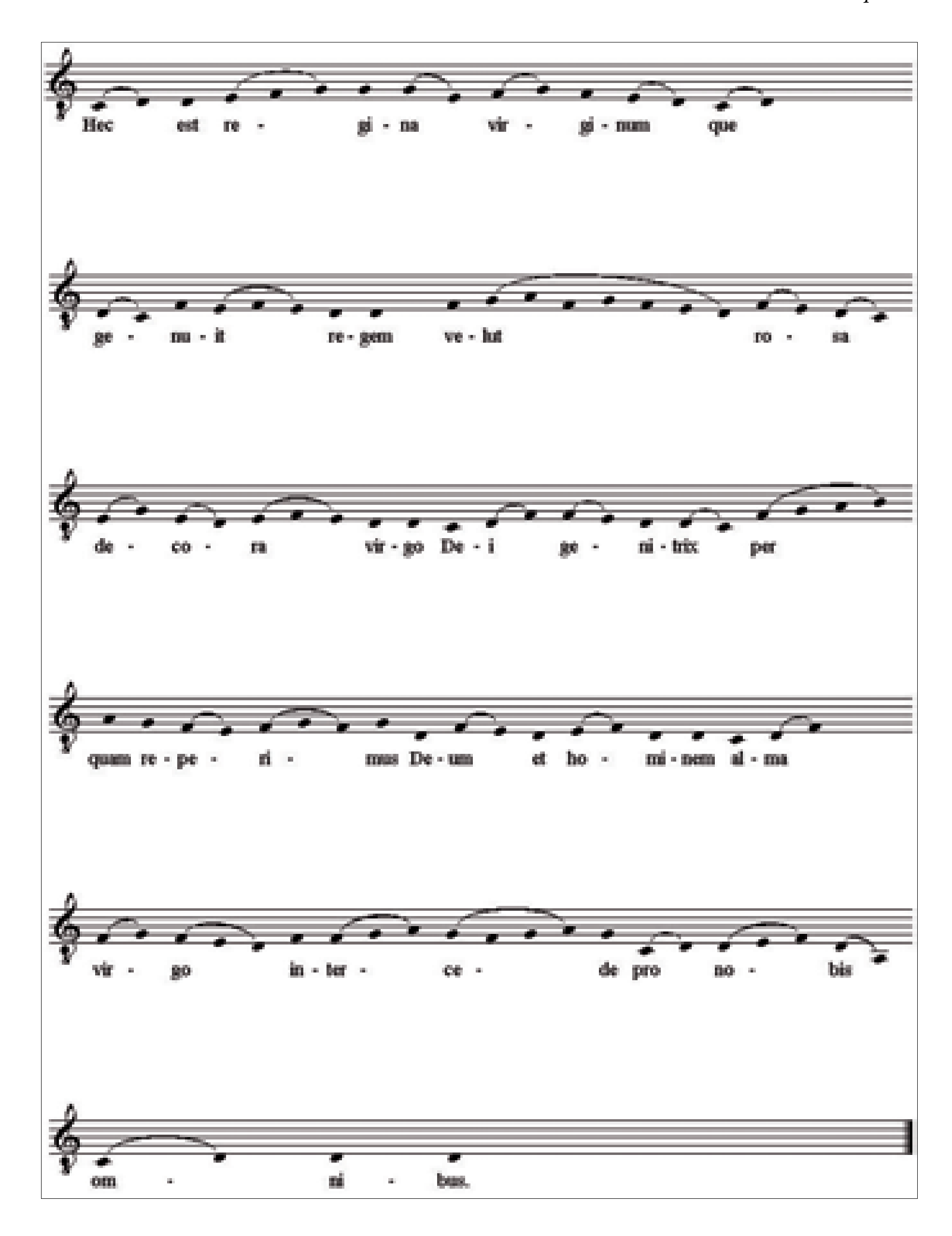
Example 22b: The antiphon 'Anna parens' in CarK25, fol. 118v.



Example 23: The antiphon 'De qua vox' in CarK12, p. 49.

Example 24: The antiphon 'Hęc est regina' for the feast of the Immaculate Conception, specifically designated as such, in CarK16, one of the choir books from the convent of Lwów.

This important chant, the first of the first Vespers chants for all the Marian feasts in the medieval Carmelite liturgy, is in mode 1. A comparison of this melody with its counterpart from the Assumption feast in CarK1 shows that the melodic contours of both are identical. The early-modern version in some places has a slightly abbreviated version of the melody, as for instance seven notes rather than twelve on the second syllable of 'velut', but the melody between the two versions is still the same.

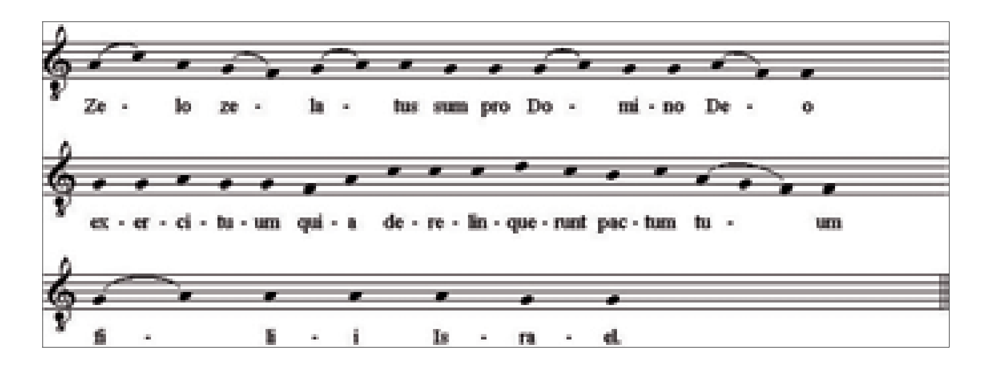


Example 24: The antiphon 'Hęc est regina' in <u>CarK16</u>, p. 6.

Chants from Carmelite Feasts Celebrated in the Late Middle Ages but Only Preserved in Tridentine Manuscripts

Example 25: The antiphon 'Zelo zelatus sum' for the feast of St Elijah.

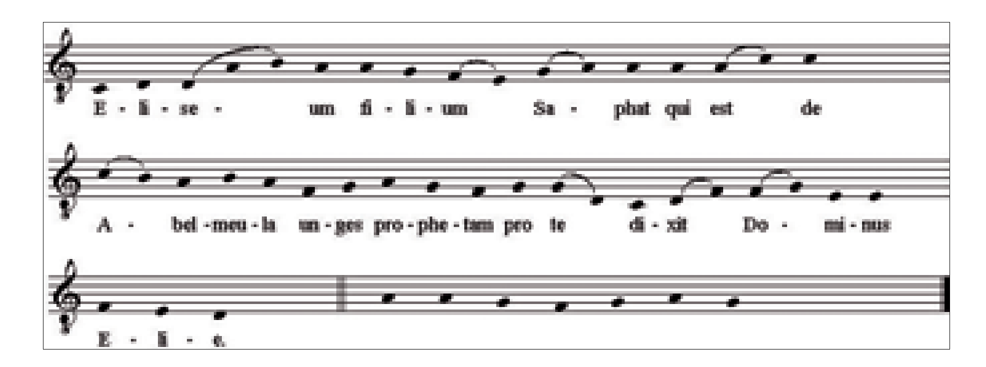
This chant, which begins first Vespers for the feast of St Elijah, is important for echoing the words of the prophet explaining his zeal for God (1 Kings 19. 10 and 14). This piece in CarK16, page 69 features a standard eighth-mode melody with final on *g*. Its counterpart in medieval choir books would likely have featured a less standard melody, in keeping with the spirit of medieval metrical offices, but one cannot know for certain what such a melody was like. The simplicity of this melody guarantees the clarity of text declamation.



Example 25: The antiphon 'Zelo zelatus sum' in CarK16, p. 69.

Example 26: The antiphon 'Eliseum filium Saphat' for the feast of St Elisha.

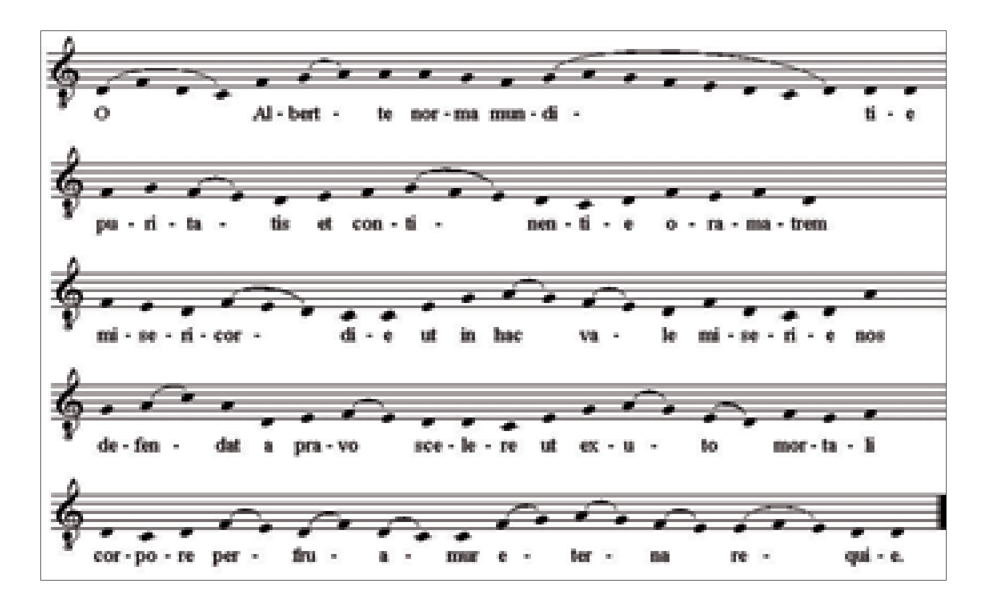
This chant begins first Vespers for the feast of St Elisha from CarK16, page 54, predictably using the text from 1 Kings 19. 16b with which the sacred writer first introduced the prophet. Textually it clearly establishes the relationship between Elijah and Elisha his disciple, since the Lord commanded Elijah to anoint Elisha as a prophet. Melodically this piece is in first mode, with final on *d* and range from *c* to *c*. The melody, especially its opening formula, *c d d a b a*, is a standard one for first mode. The rather simple melody is consistent with an antiphon and clearly announces the text. The text and hence the antiphon itself are of course unique to Carmelite usage and thus distinctive in themselves.



Example 26: The antiphon 'Eliseum filium Saphat in CarK16, p. 54.

Example 27: The antiphon 'O Alberte norma munditie' from the Office of St Albert of Sicily.

The office of St Albert of Sicily is the only properly Carmelite rhymed office from the Middle Ages; the continuing use of its texts in the early-modern period indicates the prestige that the office enjoyed in the Carmelite liturgical tradition. Unfortunately, no properly medieval versions of the office music have survived intact. One can presume that such an office featured newly composed music throughout, especially in the responsories and their verses, which would probably have been newly composed rather than following the standardized formula for the verse known as the responsory tone. Nonetheless, this first antiphon for first Vespers from CarK16, page 77 is in first mode, inaugurating the modal order of modes 1 through 5 for the first Vespers chants, a standard practice for rhymed offices. The text here is rhymed, with 'munditie' rhyming with 'continentie' and 'misericordie' while 'miserie' rhymes with 'scelere', 'corpore', and 'requie'. The melody here is in first mode, with final on *d* and range from *c* to c^1; final *d* also serves as the ending note for 'munditie', 'continentie', 'miserie', and 'requie', so that the mode of the piece is always clear. The elaborate melisma on the second syllable of 'munditie' recalls the medieval style of chant and also is a concession to the humanistic pronunciation of Latin that characterizes Roman Tridentine chant. This piece, like the entire office, was extremely important to the Carmelites, since it enabled them to honour properly one of their own members who had achieved sainthood. The text of course also upholds the values of purity, continence, mercy, and compassion, whose achievement is the goal of the Carmelite and Christian life.

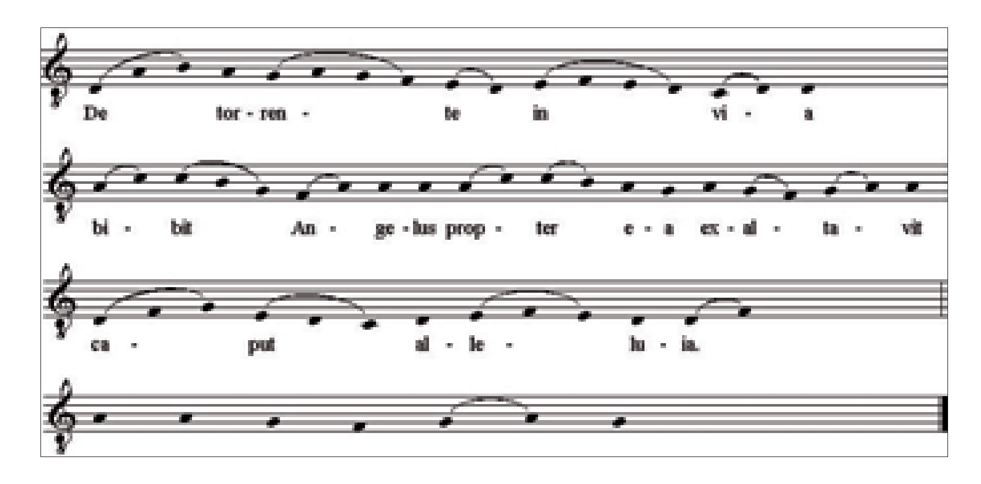


Example 27: The antiphon 'O Alberta norma' in CarK16, p. 77.

Chants for Newer Feasts Incorporated into the Carmelite Liturgy after the Council of Trent.

Example 28: The antiphon 'De torrente in via' from the Office of St Angelus.

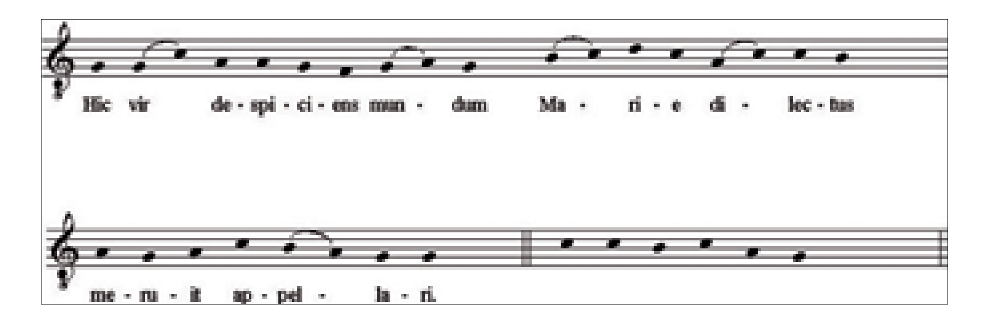
We have already discussed the importance of this first Carmelite martyr for the Carmelites' development as a religious order. The proper office features texts which are not rhymed, but which obey some of the characteristics of rhymed offices, especially the modal ordering of their chants. The text of this antiphon from CarK16, page 45 speaks of the torrent from which he drank, referring to the spiritual strength which determined his life. This opening antiphon for first Vespers is predictably in mode 1, with final on *d*, a range from *c* to c^1 and a standard opening melodic formula, *d a b a*, similar to the opening melody of 'Eliseum filium Saphat' for St Eliseus (Example 26), mentioned above. The feast and all its chants are of course unique to Carmelite use.



Example 28: The antiphon ‘De torrente in via’ in CarK16, p. 45.

Example 29a: The antiphon ‘Hic vir despiciens’ for St Simon Stock and Example 29b: The Magnificat antiphon ‘Paupertatis Evangelice’ for St Simon Stock.

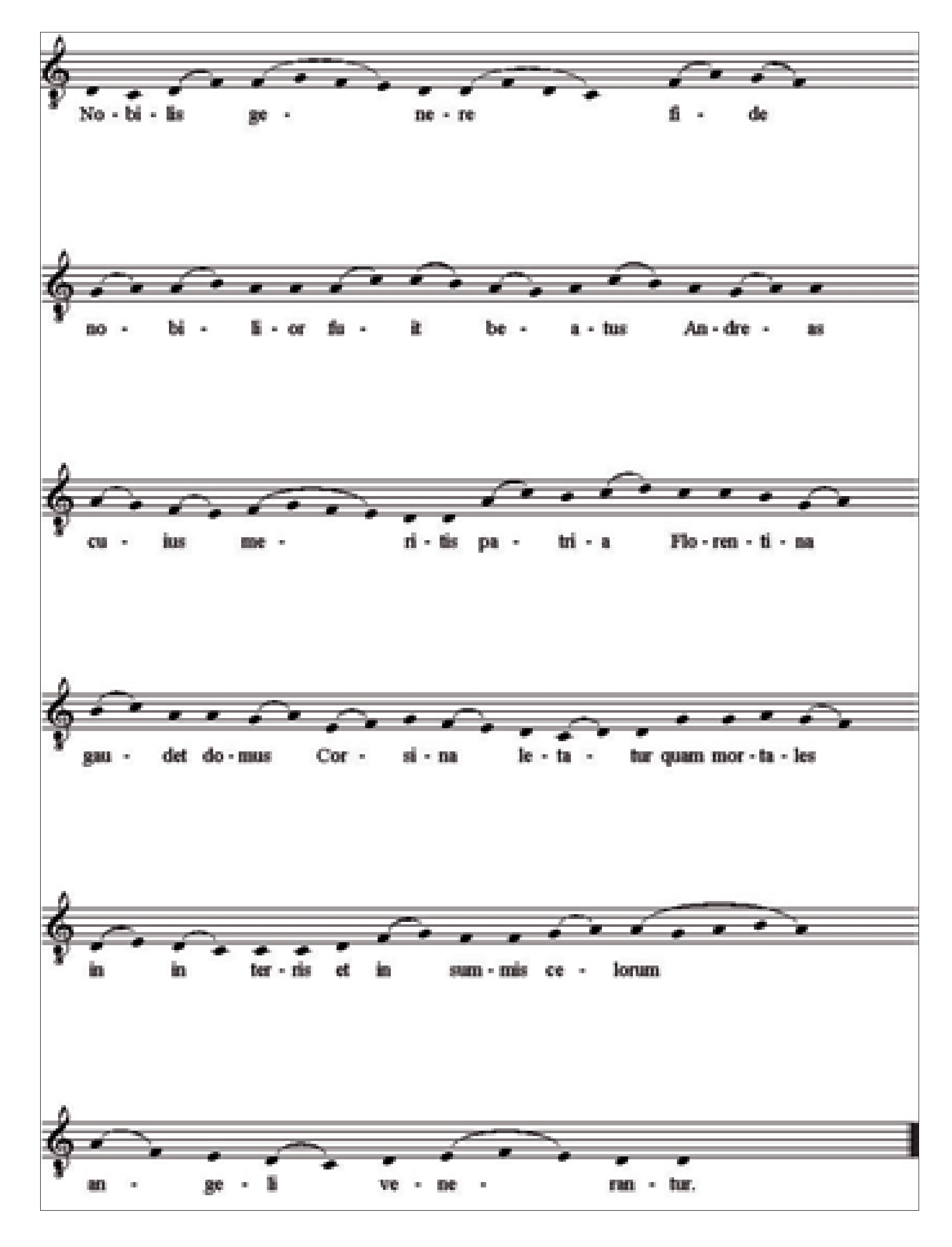
Both these antiphons from CarK16, page 48 are part of the proper office of St Simon Stock, the enigmatic prior general of the order discussed in Chapter 1. Simon is closely allied with the scapular vision and promise, both of which shaped Carmelite spirituality through much of the Middle Ages and early-modern period. This was especially important in Kraków, where the local confraternity was dedicated to the scapular, as we saw in Chapter 1. Unlike devotion to St Albert, the cult of St Simon Stock did not develop until after the Council of Trent. Thus the opening first Vespers antiphon speaks of his unworldliness and his relationship to the Virgin Mary. This rather simple eighth mode antiphon follows a standard melody for the eighth mode, with final on *g* and a range of only five notes, from *g* to d^1. The Magnificat antiphon, ‘Paupertatis Evangelice’, in CarK16, page 49 is predictably longer and hence more elaborate. This piece, in mode 2 with final on *d*, exploits the range of second mode, from a^{-1} to *b*; even though the text is not rhymed, it does feature some assonance, such as at ‘evangelice’, ‘turbine’, ‘intercede’, and ‘salute’. It is of course an intercessory prayer for personal health and wellbeing.



Example 29a: The antiphon 'Hic vir despiciens' in CarK16, p. 48.

Pau - per - ta - tis E - van - ge - li - ce a - ma - tor
ve - lut lam - pas ful - gen - tis - si - ma in ne - bu - lo - so
pre - sen - tis se - cu - li tur - bi - ne re - splen - du - i - sti
san - cte Si - mon in - ter - ce - de pro
no - stra om - ni - um - que sa - lu - te.

Example 29b: The Magnificat antiphon 'Paupertatis Evangelice' in CarK16, p. 48.



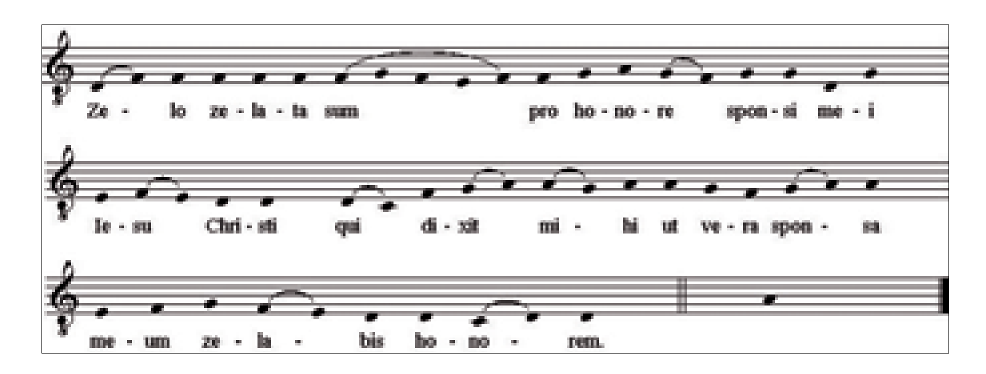
Example 30: The Magnificat antiphon ‘Nobilis genere’ in CarK16, p. 25.

Example 30: The antiphon 'Nobilis genere' from the Office of St Andrew Corsini.

This magnificat antiphon for the feast of St Andrew Corsini in CarK16, page 25 provides another example of an office based on the *vita* of the saint, using texts which are proper but not rhymed. The opening text 'nobilis genere fide nobilior', extolling the greater importance of faith over human origins, is unique for its direct references to St Andrew's Florentine origins and to the prominence of the Corsini family. The mode 1 melody has a final on *d* and a range from *c* to d^1. The piece also uses *d* at the end of important words such as 'genere', 'meritis', 'letatur', and a reciting tone on *a* at 'Andreas' and 'Florentina'.

Example 31: The antiphon 'Zelo zelata sum' from the Office of St Teresa of Jesus.

The textual opening of this antiphon from CarK16, page 97 clearly is patterned on 'Zelo zelatus sum' for the feast of St Elijah and is the first instance of such a text being deliberately feminized to suit a female saint. It also speaks of her spouse, Jesus Christ, referring to the idea of mystical marriage, a common theme in medieval spirituality. Musically the piece is in mode 1, with final on *d* and a somewhat restricted range, from *c* to *a*. The single note *a* at the very end presumably begins the *differentia*, the formula for the ending of the psalm verse; the *differentia* for mode 1 normally begins on *a*. Presumably the friars were so used to chanting the psalm that the single note sufficed to indicate the correct *differentia*. The feast is not only unique to the Carmelites (and to the Discalced Carmelites as well) but here the opening text is deliberately altered to suit the liturgical occasion.



Example 31: The antiphon 'Zelo zelata sum' in CarK16, p. 97.

Example 32: The antiphon 'Mirabilis in Magdalena' for St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi in CarK16.

The text of the antiphon in CarK16, page 53 predictably speaks of the wounds of the Lord, presumably referring to the spiritual stigmata she received on 15 April 1585[203] and the struggles against the wiles of the devil, all part of the intense spiritual life for which this saint was famous. Thus the text of the antiphon is both proper to her life and to the mystical tradition she represents. This mode 2 antiphon has its final on *d* and exploits the lower or plagal range of the *d* mode, thus from a^{-1} to *a*; the *differentia* formula is characteristic of mode 2. Thus the text is proper to the feast without being rhymed and the melody is consistent with the contours of the 2nd mode, in conformity with the spirit of the Council of Trent.



Example 32: The antiphon 'Mirabilis in Magdalena' in CarK16, p.53.

[203] Ancilli, 'Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi', p. 197.

Part IV: Conclusions about the Tridentine Carmelite Liturgy in Kraków

The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Kraków Carmelite manuscripts reflect the general state of the Carmelite liturgy in the early-modern period. The Council of Trent required the Carmelites to abandon some Latin Kingdom feasts, such as the Commemoration of the Resurrection and the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but allowed them to celebrate specific Carmelite saints who were important to their spiritual heritage. This trend also reflects the interests of the Carmelites themselves. Ever proud of their Latin Kingdom origins, the medieval Carmelites continued to celebrate feasts from the ancient rite of the Holy Sepulchre, emphasizing within their own tradition the resurrection theology that characterized the Holy Sepulchre rite. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Carmelites gradually formulated a distinctive identity and established the antiquity of their order in response to the challenges presented by the Fourth Lateran and Second Lyon councils. While they developed their relationship to the Virgin Mary in their medieval liturgy, only at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century could they properly celebrate the feasts of Sts Elijah and Elisha with proper offices, presumably found in antiphonals that no longer survive.

The Council of Trent vindicated the Carmelites' claims to antiquity by allowing them to celebrate a proper feast for the prophet Elijah as their leader and founder. While the texts for this office and Mass remained biblical, the idea of celebrating as a Catholic saint an unbaptized Hebrew prophet whose death was never established was extraordinary. At the same time, such a feast reinforced in the early-modern era the resurrection theology expressed in the feasts of the Holy Patriarchs and of the Transfiguration that featured prominently in their medieval liturgy. In all these cases the liturgy celebrated biblical figures who continue to live in God's presence and thereby attest to the power of the resurrection. The celebration of Elisha as a saint further allowed the Carmelites to see themselves as sons of both the prophets Elisha and Elijah. They associated their original striped cloak with the one that Elisha accepted from Elijah, a tradition that they readily transferred to the new white mantle they adopted after 1287. Similarly the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, whose liturgical cult the Carmelites celebrated immediately after the Council of Trent and perhaps even before it, allowed the Carmelites to expand their Marian devotion by celebrating a feast specifically in honour of 'Our Lady of Mount Carmel'. Implicit in this proper feast is the idea that, without Mary's

direct intervention with Pope Honorius III, the order itself would not have survived. This specific feast developed Carmelite Marian devotion from a generic celebration of Marian feasts to one that directly honoured their relationship with her, paralleling a similar development in the literary and artistic realms, as we have discussed in Chapter 1. Their unique interpretation of the little cloud rising above Mount Carmel, related in 1 Kings 18. 44, as a symbol of the Virgin Mary enabled the Carmelites to ally Elijah who saw the cloud and Mary who was prefigured in it in a manner that inextricably linked these two prominent objects of medieval Carmelite devotion. The readings for the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, as we have seen, refer directly to Mary's intervention with the pope and her protection of the order. Thus in the early-modern era the Carmelites celebrated liturgically a relationship which had progressively developed during the later Middle Ages, so that liturgical celebration could now reinforce the stories and traditions which shaped the medieval Carmelite identity.

Celebrating the feast of St Albert of Sicily liturgically, complete with its late-medieval rhymed office, after the Council of Trent allowed the early-modern Carmelites to take pride in one of their members who had achieved sainthood and on whose virtues they could model their own spiritual life. Moreover, since the office texts were written by the Carmelite Johannis de Poluciis and the hymn texts by the Carmelite Baptist of Mantua, the feast not only honoured St Albert as the first Carmelite saint, but also emphasized the literary achievements of two significant Carmelite writers.

With the addition of proper feasts for St Elijah, St Elisha, St Albert, and Our Lady of Mount Carmel during the course of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, we can speak of a properly Carmelite rite, now distinct from the parent rite of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem and from local diocesan rites. While the medieval versions of the music for these feasts have not survived, the proper rhymed office of St Albert probably included newly composed music in its medieval format. A similar situation likely obtained in the case of Sts Elijah and Elisha, although such music has not survived either. The earliest chants for Our Lady of Mount Carmel probably were not rhymed, in keeping with a respected Carmelite tradition for such offices in honour of the Virgin Mary.

The progressive addition of specifically Carmelite saints to the liturgy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries further increased its importance as an independent rite. Thus the feast of St Angelus, the first Carmelite martyr, provided a Carmelite parallel for the Dominican feast of St Peter Martyr and reinforced the Carmelites' zeal for the Gospel and the spiritual way of life even

unto death. Despite the paucity of evidence for the life of St Simon Stock, the Carmelites celebrated his feast with a complete proper office. This feast also reinforced the significance of the scapular as a primary symbol, whose reception by St Simon was closely associated with the feast of the Solemn Commemoration of the Virgin Mary. The veneration of St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi enabled the Carmelites to appreciate how the ideals of the interior life of prayer were realized in one of their members; while she is particularly revered in her native Florence, where her body is still preserved incorrupt, devotion to her extends throughout the order, including to Kraków, where she enjoys strong veneration.

For many of their feasts, especially the Marian ones, the Carmelites accepted some of the new Tridentine pieces, especially those antiphons that were more specific to the feast than were their own medieval ones; at the same time they preserved the medieval heritage of their first Vespers antiphons intact and probably kept most of the Matins chants in their medieval format as well, in the process fashioning liturgies in honour of Mary that were distinctively their own. While they necessarily had to abandon some of their medieval offices, like the Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and the feast of the Three Marys, they continued in the early-modern period to celebrate their proper feasts, which entered the liturgy in the century before the Council of Trent, especially the prophets Elijah and Elisha, St Albert of Trapani, and the patronal feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. Even though they had to accommodate the music of these offices to the new Tridentine aesthetic, they still preserved the distinctive texts into their early-modern liturgy. At the same time the Carmelites could now celebrate feasts such as St Andrew Corsini, St Teresa of Avila, St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi, St Angelus, and St Simon Stock in their early-modern liturgy, which they could not do in their medieval tradition. Thus in the early-modern period the Carmelites preserved much of their medieval tradition while making their liturgy even more distinctive. Such a proper liturgy also reinforced beliefs about the order which the Carmelites had developed throughout the Middle Ages, including their privileged relationship with the Virgin Mary and their unique self-understanding as disciples of Elijah and Elisha the prophets; similarly the development of their proper feasts celebrated liturgically and musically the saints and traditions that were commemorated in numerous examples of ecclesiastical art in the medieval and early-modern periods.

Chapter 5

Reflections on the Kraków Carmelite Choir Books

In this study we discussed the collection of choir books housed in the Carmelite convent of Kraków in terms of the history of the Carmelites who used them, the liturgical tradition that governed them and the feasts and chants they contain. In this chapter we will 1) review the arguments made in the other four chapters, and then 2) offer some conclusions about the purpose and significance of these choir books.

Review of the Arguments Made in Previous Chapters

Chapter 1 discussed the contemporary chronicler Jan Długosz's mention of the Carmelites' arrival into Kraków, the significance of their settling outside the walls of the city, and their relationship to Queen Jadwiga who brought them there. It also traced the development of the Carmelites from their origins as hermits on Mount Carmel to their arrival in Kraków as mendicants with a distinctive historical and liturgical tradition. As the Carmelites developed a distinctive religious identity they also developed an understanding of their unique relationship to the Virgin Mary and to Elijah the prophet, whom they eventually honoured as their founder. The unique Carmelite corporate identity, with its origins in the Latin Kingdom and its claims to antiquity, though often challenged, nevertheless clarified their vocation for the Carmelites and evidently appealed to the various authorities who invited them into their dioceses, including Kraków in 1397.

Written documents such as the *formula vitae* given to the Carmelites by Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, between 1206 and 1214, the revised rule of 1247, and the *rubrica prima* of 1281 shaped the medieval Carmelite identity.

The revised rule of 1247 legislated the communal recitation of the Divine Office and thus set in motion the development of a unique liturgical tradition. As mendicant preachers and confessors the Carmelites served a useful purpose in medieval Kraków, one that Boniface IX appreciated when he cited 'the increase of divine worship' as one of the aims of their activity there.

Chapter 2 discussed the growth of the distinctive liturgy which the Carmelites developed out of the rite of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, paralleling the historical narrative described in Chapter 1. Like the habit they adopted in 1287, and like their rule and constitutions, the liturgy shaped the Carmelites' self-understanding. The ordinal of Sibert de Beka, first promulgated in 1312, regulated the liturgy in meticulous detail, thus creating a corporate sense of identity for the Carmelites who followed it. This ordinal of Sibert, like other founding documents such as the rule and the *rubrica prima*, was crucial in shaping medieval Carmelite identity. Later Carmelite legislation reinforced this liturgical legislation and stipulated penances for infractions of it. All choir books, including the collection from Kraków, can be considered as extensions of the original text, the ordinal of Sibert de Beka.

Chapter 3 discussed the choir books as a group before examining the contents of the six medieval books in detail, demonstrating that these choir books meticulously followed the instructions of the ordinal of Sibert de Beka. In other words, these manuscripts verify that what Sibert prescribed in 1312 was faithfully implemented from 1397 through the Council of Trent and even beyond it. In addition, Chapter 3 established that the medieval Carmelite choir books preserved liturgies for special saints, including chants that occur very infrequently in other manuscripts or that are even unique to the Carmelites. It also showed the interesting interplay, especially in the rhymed offices, of chants from one office to another, including from one manuscript tradition to another. The eighteenth-century Carmelites who revised the manuscripts were careful to preserve the older offices, so that these manuscripts are now repositories of chants that are generally rare or even unique among medieval antiphonals. They also demonstrate the somewhat eclectic nature of the later Carmelite liturgy, which was willing to incorporate significant feasts from prominent locales where the Carmelites were situated into their own liturgical tradition.

Chapter 4 discussed the development of the Carmelite liturgy in the early-modern period, discussing the Carmelite response to the directives of the Council of Trent: they retained many elements of the medieval liturgy while incorporating new and properly Carmelite feasts into their tradition. In addition to revising existing medieval manuscripts the Carmelites of Kraków

and Lwów compiled new antiphonals and graduals to celebrate properly their distinctive tradition in the Tridentine era.

Our musical comparison of selected chants from the medieval and Tridentine traditions showed that some melodies remained identical between the two versions, while many were newly composed for the later feasts, especially for Elijah, Elisha, and Albert of Sicily. and showed that some very late-medieval chants continued to be celebrated in the early-modern period, but with music that generally conformed to a Tridentine aesthetic. Finally we discussed the text and music from selected pieces from the newly added offices in the period after the Council of Trent, which feature texts that are proper to the *vita* of the saint but are not rhymed.

The Purpose and Significance of the Kraków Choir Books

Having related the development of the Carmelite liturgy to the parallel development of the Carmelites' self-understanding and particularly to the association they developed with Elijah and Mary, and having discussed these choir books as an extension of the ordinal of Sibert de Beka, we now offer some reflections on their general purpose and significance. We discuss them under the following categories: a) service books for the liturgy, b) preserving the Bohemian office tradition, c) instruments of Carmelite identity, d) devotional objects; and e) depictions of the Carmelite habit.

Service Books for the Liturgy

First and foremost, the Carmelite choir books of Kraków are the practical result of the liturgical legislation we discussed in Chapter 2, namely, service books which put into effect the detailed rubrics of the ordinal of Sibert de Beka for the medieval codices of Chapter 3 and of the revised Carmelite liturgy for the early-modern codices of Chapter 4. Significantly the earliest books were made in Prague for the new community to bring with them to Kraków, since without the regular chanting of the office and Mass, the new foundation could not be considered a proper Carmelite house. Our discussion of the details of the feasts shows that their offices and Masses did in fact follow the prescriptions of Sibert's ordinal, so that the earliest codices were extensions of the primary text, the ordinal of Sibert. Some latitude prevailed in their composition, perhaps due to the long tenure of Fr Procopius as choir master in Prague, so that the rhymed

offices of the Bohemian saints Ludmila and Wenceslaus were included in CarK1. The dedicatory colophon in Wrocław, Biblioteka Narodowa 'Ossolineum', MS (rkps) 12025/IV, by indicating the names of the provincial, local prior and other prominent Carmelites, gave the proper authority to the resulting work, which was obviously considered a major accomplishment by the Prague community. It was, however, less a triumphant work of art than a suitable vehicle for the important work of celebrating the Divine Office in the new convent, all the more important given the references to divine worship in the apostolic confirmation of the Kraków Carmelites by Boniface IX.

Preserving the Bohemian Office Tradition

From a liturgical and musical point of view the first three Kraków manuscripts preserve the Carmelite tradition as practised in Prague and shed valuable light on the liturgy of the Prague Carmelite convent as well as on several uniquely Bohemian offices. The destruction of so many Bohemian liturgical manuscripts in the Hussite wars of the 1420s makes these offices within the Kraków Carmelite tradition all the more valuable. While some Prague manuscripts preserve the St Ludmila office and the St Wenceslaus office, instances of the rhymed office for Our Lady of the Snows are seemingly rarer, although with the increased production of computer indices, through CANTUS and CAO-ECE, more such examples may eventually arise. The use of the John of Jenstein office for the Visitation extended the association between the Prague Carmelites and their local bishop into a new locale and, through Kraków, to Mainz, and probably other liturgical centres within the Carmelite realm, especially in the convents of the Upper and Lower German provinces.

Instruments of Carmelite Identity

Since the Carmelite order had no discernible founder and struggled for over a century to defend its very right to exist, its liturgy and the books used to celebrate it provided powerful and much needed symbols of identity. In the absence of any writings from or stories about a founding personality, especially during the medieval period when their relationship to the prophet Elijah and the Virgin Mary was still developing, the regular performance of the same liturgical texts provided for the Carmelites virtually the only opportunity to

express who they were as a religious community. The regular performance of the office and Mass for the feasts they had inherited from the rite of the Holy Sepulchre, such as the Commemoration of the Resurrection and the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, at once linked them to the parent rite they had inherited and at the same time separated them liturgically from their neighbours in the European cities like Kraków where they now found themselves. Their distinctive celebration of standard feasts such as St Mary Magdalene, their unique observance of the feast of the Transfiguration, and their unique approach to celebrating feasts honouring the Virgin Mary all reinforced for the Carmelites their sense of having a distinct identity from both the other mendicant orders and from the local diocesan tradition. Their celebration of feasts such as St Anne and the Three Marys reinforced this distinctive identity, especially in places like Kraków where the feast of the Three Marys was unknown, while their preservation of the offices of Sts Ludmila and Wenceslaus linked them to their founding convent of Prague. With the development of new and distinctive feasts such as Our Lady of Mount Carmel, St Elijah and his disciple Elisha, and their own St Albert of Sicily the Carmelites had clearly outgrown their reliance on the rite of the Holy Sepulchre for their identity and had established their liturgical rite as unique among western traditions.

Devotional Objects

The large size of the choir books generally reflects their liturgical purpose, since they were necessarily large to permit the onlookers to read them correctly, especially given the reliance on natural daylight for Lauds and Vespers and on candlelight for the celebration of Matins. The fact that the bottom corners of the manuscripts are generally worn, showing the signs of constant use by turning the pages, means that these books were used on a regular basis for several centuries. The beautiful historiated initials in CarK1, along with several other less detailed initials, lead one to question whether the books themselves might not have been used as devotional objects as well as simply for religious services. It would seem, for instance, that not to have an initial such as the 'H' for 'Hec est regina', our Figure 3, available for viewing by the Carmelite community and probably by the faithful who attended the church, would be a missed opportunity for catechizing the faithful and for personal reflection by the friars. The large number of historiated initials in the Carmelite Gradual of 1644, painstakingly done under the direction and perhaps by the single hand of

Fr Stanisław de Stolec, makes this point all the more obvious. The use of the *Scutum Fidei* in the historiated 'S' for 'Sanctus,' which we discussed in Chapter 4, established links with St Paul's letter to the Ephesians, with other earlier manuscripts that used it, with the Carmelite rule, and with the theological point that Fr Stanisław was trying to make. Such a historiated initial invites devotional reflection from anyone who sees it; this is only one example from the 110 historiated initials in the codex, leading us to conjecture that the book surely must have enjoyed a use beyond the choir members who sang from it.

The Carmelite habit

The habit was the most obvious identifying feature for religious during the medieval and early-modern periods. This was particularly the case for the Carmelites, whose original striped cloak proved so problematic to them as they tried to establish themselves in western Europe; their adoption of the white cloak after 1287 also aroused serious objections from other religious and clerics, as we discussed in Chapter 1. Once the habit was adopted and the objections were put to rest, however, the habit, particularly the white cloak, became a strong identifying feature for the Carmelites, known in England as Whitefriars because of their garb. The depictions of friars in habit in the borders of historiated initials in CarK1, as in the border of the historiated 'H' for 'Hec est regina,' for instance, not only drew attention to the Carmelite originally identified in the scroll as having contributed to the production of the codex, but also called attention to the obvious Carmelite quality of the codex itself. In a sense it appropriated the book itself to the Carmelites since, for instance, it would be unthinkable to use it for any services other than within a Carmelite convent. While some writers might consider such a portrayal to be an instance of Carmelite propaganda or expression of power, the making of a medieval antiphonal, even one destined for ordinary use, was a significant accomplishment and a fitting tribute to those who produced it, either described textually in the colophon in the Wrocław manuscript discussed in Chapter 3, or pictorially in the depiction of various Carmelites in white cloaks holding the banderole containing their name. In the process the manuscript became a vehicle for promoting Carmelite symbols such as the habit as well as for providing the necessary texts and music for rendering the liturgy.

This promotion of Carmelite identity took on particular emphasis in the Gradual of 1644, where Fr Stanisław de Stolec portrayed numerous instances of Carmelites wearing the habit. We discussed in Chapter 4 the historiated 'P' for

'Pater' depicting the original hermits in the presence of Albert of Jerusalem and 'N' for 'Nos autem gloriari', depicting two Carmelites contemplating the crucifixion. In this manuscript Carmelites are portrayed in the company of the Lord, either meditating on the crucifixion, carrying their cross behind the Lord carrying His, or greeting the resurrected Christ. The historiated initial had the power to capture the viewer and draw him or her into the scene, especially in the case of the numerous initials involving Carmelites next to the crucified Jesus on the cross. Such medication on the sufferings of the Lord was a general part of regular meditation practised by Carmelites and numerous other groups of religious and Catholic laity. These illuminations thus reflected back to the Carmelites who viewed them their own spiritual story, including receiving the rule, receiving the scapular, entering into the mysteries of the Gospel, sharing in the Lord's passion, and ultimately in His resurrection. If these illuminations were regularly viewed by the faithful, they became static expressions of devotion, enabling people to meditate on a given spiritual scene at their leisure, as opposed to the more active role of the choir book where the pages had to be turned as the music progressed, so that one had only a brief moment to contemplate the historiated initial. In the process the laity who viewed the manuscript reflected on their own spiritual life as well as on the story of the Carmelites who ministered to them.

As we have discussed in Chapter 4, the historiated initials for Elijah and Elisha in CarK7 allowed the local Carmelites to use a choir book to reinforce their own personal association with the prophet and his disciple which they had developed over most of the medieval period. The choir book thus became the vehicle for reaffirming their own understanding of who they were and how they came to be as a religious community. By depicting both Elijah and Elisha in the Carmelite habit and white cloak the Carmelites made these two prophets their founders and themselves their disciples. Thus the Carmelite self-understanding expressed in *The Ten Books* of Felip Ribot, a work which by the later Middle Ages and early-modern period was widespread within the order and had greatly informed their self-understanding, received in these manuscripts the pictorial and liturgical reinforcement that the Carmelites understood but could not express elsewhere. One can safely presume that the stories of Elijah among the Carmelites, faithfully recounted by Ribot and other Carmelite spiritual writers, formed part of the regular reading in the refectory during certain times of the year; such readings had their liturgical counterpart in the images and chants for Elijah and Elisha that were an integral part of these liturgical codices.

Unanswered Questions

The choir books, as valuable as they are, do not tell the complete story of the Kraków Carmelites. One wishes that Jan Długosz had included further details in his *Liber beneficiorum* concerning the identity or even the number of the founding Carmelites. One can presume that at least some of the people mentioned in the dedication page of the Wrocław manuscript also came for the dedication of the church and saw the results of their handiwork in performance. It would be helpful to have more information concerning the people whose names are mentioned in the various colophons of these manuscripts. One also wishes that the crucial offices for Our Lady of Mount Carmel, St Elijah, St Elisha, and St Albert of Trapani had survived in their medieval format, not just in later codices. We can only presume that the medieval versions of these offices were in a separate choir book for such offices that has not survived. While Fr Bonaventura Kiełkowicz used the most efficient method available to him in his revision of the choir books in the years after 1740, one can only regret that some of the interesting medieval offices were partially damaged in the process, even though they were no longer needed in the eighteenth century.

The Choir Books and the Kraków Carmelites

Underlying all the liturgical texts and the music to chant them lies the memory of the Carmelites who used the books and the relationship of the remaining antiphonals and graduals to the generations of Carmelites who sang from them. The earliest group of manuscripts, Codices 1 through 5, were probably in use until the end of the nineteenth century, thus seeing about 500 years of service. The gradual of 1644 and the newly compiled eighteenth-century choir books were probably in use until the end of the nineteenth century before they became obsolete. The chanting of the various office hours and Mass occupied approximately four hours of their time each day, so that these choir books played a very large role in the spiritual development of the local Carmelites who came to chapel to pray several times during each day and once during the night over the course of their entire religious life.

Integral to the religious life of the medieval and early-modern Carmelites were the stories that shaped their identity as friars. The Carmelite story was a unique tale of hermits on Mount Carmel who saw themselves as prophets in direct descent from Elijah and Elisha, and who saw their relationship to the

Virgin Mary as so close that they considered her their sister. Shaped by these stories, they fashioned for themselves a unique place in the society of western Europe, where as mendicants they faithfully preached the Gospel from the vantage point of people whose origins were firmly rooted in the land where the Lord exercised his ministry, died for all humanity, and rose from the dead. The Carmelites' unique liturgy celebrated both who they were in the Latin Kingdom and who they had become in western Europe. As testimony to their origins, development and stature in western Europe these Carmelite codices of Kraków bear witness to a vibrant liturgical tradition which defined the Carmelites of the Middle Ages and early-modern period and still is operative today.

Appendix

Choir Books, Devotional Books, and Printed Books in the Kraków Carmelite Collection

Wrocław, Biblioteka Narodowa 'Ossilineum' Rkps. 12025/IV Antiphonary, Carmelite, 1397 + later revisions

50 x 36 cm

p. 1	Dedication of a Church — later hand
p. 3	Easter + Octave weekdays
p. 17	Octave of Easter
p. 21	Sunday 2 after Easter
p. 22	Sunday 3 after Easter
p. 23	Sunday 4 after Easter
p. 25	Sunday 5 after Easter
p. 26	Rogation days
p. 28	Ascension
p. 40	Sunday after Ascension
p. 42	Pentecost
p. 50	Weekdays after Pentecost
p. 54	Trinity Sunday
p. 70	Corpus Christi
p. 87	De Regum
p. 101	Sunday 1 after the octave of Pentecost to
p. 106	Sunday 8 after the octave of Pentecost[1]

[1] In the published CANTUS index this Sunday is the 9th Sunday after Pentecost; the Carmelite rite numbered these Sundays after Trinity, or the Sunday after Pentecost, rather than after Pentecost itself as in the Roman rite.

p. 106	De Sapientia
p. 117	Sunday 9 after the octave of Pentecost to
p. 121	Sunday 13 after the octave of Pentecost
p. 122	De Job
p. 132	Sunday 14 after the octave of Pentecost
p. 133	Sunday 15 after the octave of Pentecost
p. 134	De Tobia
p. 140	De Judith
p. 147	Sunday 16 after the octave of Pentecost
p. 148	De Machabaeis
p. 158	Sunday 17 after the octave of Pentecost
p. 159	Sunday 18 after the octave of Pentecost to
p. 161	Sunday 20 after the octave of Pentecost
p. 162	De Prophetis
p. 174	Sunday 21 after the octave of Pentecost to
p. 177	Sunday 25 after the octave of Pentecost
p. 178	Commemoration of the Resurrection
p. 187	Dedication of a Church
p. 200	Miscellaneous chants
p. 201	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, Codex 1 (Rkp. Perg. 12) Antiphonary, 1397

34 x 51 cm

p. 2	Feast of 9 lessons
p. 10	St Mark, ev.
p. 13	Sts Philip & James
p. 17	Invention of Holy Cross
p. 28	St John before the Latin Gate
p. 29	St John the Baptist
p. 42	Sts John and Paul
p. 47	Sts Peter and Paul
p. 64	Commemoration of St Paul
p. 77	Visitation
p. 81	St Mary Magdalene
p. 94	St Anne
pp. 101–02	Our Lady of the Snows
p. 103	St Anne
p. 108	St Peter in Chains
	Our Lady of the Snows
pp. 119–20	St Anne
pp. 121–22	Our Lady of the Snows
p. 123	Transfiguration
p. 126	St Lawrence
p. 139	St Tiburtius
p. 140	St Hippolytus & companions
p. 145	Assumption of Virgin Mary
p. 164	St Augustine
p. 184	Beheading of St John the Baptist
p. 192	Nativity of B.V.M.
pp. 195–96	Missing
p. 208	Exaltation of Holy Cross
p. 213	St Ludmila
p. 229	St Matthew, ap.
p. 245	St Wenceslaus
[p. 247	St Cleophas [later hand]]
p. 260	St Michael the Archangel

p. 273	Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac & Jacob
p. 284	St Denis & companions
pp. 299–300	Missing
p. 301	All Saints
p. 318	St Martin
p. 335	St Brice
p. 338	St Elizabeth of Hungary
p. 352	St Edmund
	St Cecilia
p. 364	St Clement
p. 370	St Catherine
	Office replaced by St Adalbert [later hand]
p. 372	St Florian [later hand]
	St Stanislaus [later hand]
p. 374	Divisio Apostolorum
	St Eliseus [later hand]
p. 382	St Elias
p. 387	St Albert
p. 393	St Henry [later hand]
p. 394	St Eric [later hand]
p. 395	St Ansgar [later hand]
p. 396	St Sigfridus [later hand]
p. 397	St Eskil [later hand]
p. 398	St Botuidus [later hand]
p. 399	St Olaf [later hand]
p. 400	St Helen of Skővde [later hand]
p. 401–02	St Birgitta [later hand]

1 blank folio [later hand]
3 folios [= 6 pages] of index of invitatories
1 blank folio
Index of feasts [3 pages + 1 blank folio]
Index of Antiphons [5 folios + 1 blank folio]
End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, Codex 2 (Rkp. Perg. 14)
Antiphonary, 1397

35 x 52 cm

fol. 1	Advent Sunday 1 [later hand]
fol. 5^{v}	Annunciation [later hand]
fol. 6^{v}	Advent Sunday 2
fol. 11	Advent Sunday 3
fol. 17^{v}	Advent Sunday 4
fol. 32	'O' antiphons
fol. 33^{v}	Vigil of Christmas
fol. 36	Christmas
fol. 47	St Stephen
fol. 55	St John the Evangelist
fol. 58^{v}	Holy Innocents
fol. 60	St Thomas of Canterbury [RO]*
fol. 63^{v}	Octave of Christmas
fol. 70^{v}	Epiphany
fol. 80^{v}	Octave of Epiphany
fol. 82	Sundays of the year
fol. 93v	Septuagesima
fol. 102	Sexagesima
fol. 103^{v}	Quinquagesima
fol. 109	Ash Wednesday
fol. 111^{v}	Lent Sunday 1
fol. 121^{v}	Lent Sunday 2
fol. 130	Lent Sunday 3
fol. 142^{v}	Lent Sunday 4
fol. 151^{v}	Passion Sunday
fol. 162	Palm Sunday
fol. 173^{v}	Holy Thursday
fol. 180^{v}	Good Friday
fol. 186	Holy Saturday
fol. 191^{v}	St Andrew
fol. 198^{v}	St Nicholas ['O pastor eterne' office]
fol. 206	Conception of B.V.M.
fol. 213^{v}	St Lucy

fol. 216	St Lazarus [later hand]
fol. 216^{v}	St Thomas
fol. 217	Sts Fabian & Sebastian
fol. 224	St Agnes
fol. 230^{v}	St Vincent
fol. 239	Conversion of St Paul
fol. 248	Purification of B.V.M.
fol. 256	St Agatha
fol. 263	Chair of St Peter
fol. 270v	End of manuscript

* rhymed office

3 blank folios
Index of feasts: 2-1/2 folios
1 blank page
Index of antiphons: 6 folios
3 blank folios
Index of feasts 2–1/2 folios
1 blank page
Index of antiphons
Index of responsories: 3 folios
Index of invitatories: 1 page
1 blank page
1 blank folio

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 3 (Rkp. Perg. 15) Antiphonary, 1468

47.5 cm x 34.5 cm

fol. 1	Easter Sunday
fol. 10	Octave of Easter
fol. 14	2nd Sunday after Easter
fol. 18	3rd Sunday after Easter
fol. 18v	4th Sunday after Easter
fol. 21	5th Sunday after Easter
fol. 22	Ascension
fol. 27v	Pentecost
fol. 41	Corpus Christi
fol. 50	Sundays after Trinity
fol. 76	Commemoration of the Resurrection
fol. 76v	Dedication of a Church
fol. 81	Common of Saints in Paschal Time
fol. 83v	Common of Apostles in Paschal Time
fol. 85	Sts Philip & James
fol. 86	Invention of Holy Cross
fol. 90	St John before the Latin Gate
	Three Marys [RO]
fol. 93v	St John the Baptist
fol. 99	Sts John & Paul
fol. 100v	Sts Peter & Paul
fol. 106v	Commemoration of St Paul
fols 109–110	Missing
fol. 111	Visitation
fol. 114v	St Mary Magdalene
fol. 117	St Anne [RO]
fol. 122	St Peter in Chains
fol. 122v	Transfiguration
fol. 123v	St Lawrence
fol. 128v	St Hippolytus & companions
fol. 130	Assumption of B.V.M.
fol. 136	Sunday within the Octave of Assumption
fol. 136v	St Augustine [RO: Letare mater nostra]

fol. 143v	Beheading of St John the Baptist
fol. 145v	Nativity of B.V.M.
fol. 150v	Exaltation of Holy Cross
fol. 152	St Michael the Archangel
fol. 156v	Patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, & Jacob
fol. 160v	St Denis & companions, martyrs
fol. 166	All Saints
fol. 171	St Martin
fol. 176v	St Brice
fol. 177v	St Edmund
fol. 178	St Cecilia
fol. 182	St Clement
fol. 183v	St Catherine
Section in Later Hand:	
fol. 190	St Elias
fol. 190v	Colophon at bottom of folio [original hand]: Anno Domini Millesimo Quatuorcentesimo Sexagesimo Octavo Feria Quinta Ante Septuagesimam iste Liber est Terminatus: Oretis pro Scriptore Deum et est comperatus per ven[era]b[i]lem patrem mathiam.
[Later hand:]	
fol. 192v	St Eliseus
fol. 195v	St Adalbert
fol. 196v	St Stanislaus
next folio is marked 204	
fol. 204	St Stanislaus
fol. 205	St Wenceslaus
	Visitation chant
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 4 (Rkp. perg. 20)
Antiphonary, fifteenth century

41 cm x 29 cm
5 blank folios of paper at the beginning; manuscript itself is parchment
Original manuscript was reworked by later hands, at which time page numbers were inserted.

p. 1	Psalm 94
p. 26	Common of Apostles
p. 28	Missa de sacratissimo Corpore Christi — later hand
p. 34	Older hand resumes — Common of Apostles
p. 39	Common of Evangelists
p. 47	Common of several martyrs
p. 49	Salve sancta parens Marian Mass — later hand
	Common of B.V.M.
p. 55	Common of several martyrs
p. 59	Common of a martyr
p. 68	Common of a confessor bishop
p. 77	Common of a confessor not a bishop
p. 79	Common of several confessors
p. 86	Common of a virgin
p. 97	Common of a holy woman (*matrona*)
p. 101	Common of several virgins
p. 107	In commemoratione Marie virginis
p. 123	Suffrages — later hand
p. 129	Original hand resumes — suffrages
p. 135	Office of the dead
p. 145	Thanksgiving (Gratiarum actionis)
p. 147	Guardian Angels
p. 148	Chants in Paschal Time
p. 149	Chants in Ordinary Time
p. 150	Chants for the saints in Paschal Time
p. 152	Original hand resumes
	Mass Ordinary chants
p. 166	Later hand interrupts
p. 167	Later hand — Lenten chants
p. 172	Transfiguration chants — later hand

p. 173	Christmas chants — later hand
p. 175	Chants for Sundays & weekdays in the year — later hand
p. 188	Benedicamus Domino chants — later hand
pp. 191–200	
p. 200	Index of Psalm 94 chants by musical and textual incipit
p. 202	Index by liturgical function for commons, etc.
after p. 203:	Index of chants alphabetically: 10 1/2 folios + 2 1/2 blank folios, all paper
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 5 (Rkp. perg. 13) Antiphonary, fifteenth century

51 cm x 35 cm; Parchment

fol. 1	Advent weekday chants after Advent Sunday 2
fol. 1^v	Advent Sunday 3
fol. 4	Advent Sunday 4
fol. 14^v	'O' antiphons
fol. 16	Vigil of Christmas
fol. 18	Christmas
fol. 26^v	St Stephen
fol. 31^v	St John the Evangelist
fol. 36	Holy Innocents
fol. 40	St Thomas of Canterbury ['Pastor cesus in gregis' RO]
fol. 44	Sunday after Christmas
fol. 44^v	Octave of Christmas
fol. 49	Vigil of Epiphany
fol. 49^v	Epiphany
fol. 56^v	Octave of Epiphany
fol. 57^v	Sunday 1 after octave of Epiphany
fol. 65^v	Sunday 2 after octave of Epiphany
	Sunday 3 after octave of Epiphany
fol. 66	Sundays 4 and 5 after octave of Epiphany
fol. 66^v	Septuagesima Sunday
fol. 69	Lent Sunday 4
fol. 73^v	Passion Sunday
fol. 81	Palm Sunday
fol. 89^v	Holy Thursday
fol. 91	Good Friday
fol. 92^v	Vigil of Easter
fol. 93	St Nicholas
fol. 96^v	Conception of B.V.M.
fol. 102	St Lucy
fol. 103^v	St Lazarus
fol. 104	St Thomas
	Sts Fabian & Sebastian
fol. 109	St Agnes

fol. 113^{v}	St Vincent
fol. 119	Conversion of St Paul
fol. 124	Second Agnes
	Purification of B.V.M.
fol. 129^{v}	St Agatha
fol. 133^{v}	Chair of St Peter
fol. 136^{v}	Annunciation
fol. 140^{v}	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 6 (Rkp. perg. 1) Gradual, 1644

71 x 51 cm

fol. n.n.v	Blank
p. 1	Title Page: Graduale de dominicis iuxta ritum Missalis Beatissimae Dei Genitricis semperque Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo.
At p. 41 pagination changes to foliation	
fol. 52	Advent Sunday 1
fol. 69v	Vigil of Christmas
fol. 70v	Nativity of Our Lord
fol. 78v	Circumcision
fol. 79	Epiphany
fol. 85v	2nd Sunday after octave of Epiphany
fol. 87	Septguagesima Sunday
fol. 90	Sexagesima Sunday
fol. 92v	Quinquagesima Sunday
fol. 95	Feria quarta Cinerum
fol. 100v	Lent Sunday 1
fol. 115v	Lent Sunday 2
fol. 127	Lent Sunday 3
fol. 137	Lent Sunday 4
fol. 148v	Passion Sunday
fol. 159	Palm Sunday
fol. 170v	Feria 5 Holy Thursday
fol. 171v	Feria 6 Good Friday
fol. 178v	Holy Saturday
fol. 183	Easter Sunday
fol. 197	Dominica in albis
fol. 198	Sunday 2 after Easter
fol. 203v	Sunday 5 after Easter
fol. 205	Rogation days
fol. 210	Ascension
fol. 214	Pentecost
fol. 225v	Trinity Sunday
fol. 227v	Corpus Christi

fol. 232^{v}	1st Sunday after Trinity
fol. 234	2nd Sunday after Trinity
fol. 261^{v}	23rd, 24th, & last Sundays after Trinity
fol. 263	Dedication of a church
fol. 265	Votive Mass of Trinity
fol. 266	Votive Mass of Holy Cross
fol. 267	Votive Mass of Nativity of the Lord
	Votive Mass of Epiphany
	Votive Mass of the Wounds of the Lord
fol. 269^{v}	Votive Mass of the Resurrection of Our Lord
	Votive Mass of the Ascension of Our Lord
fol. 270	Votive Mass in honore paenarum Domini
fol. 271^{v}	Votive Mass pro parvulis
fol. 272^{v}	Missa votiva pro febricitan[tes] [those running a fever]
fol. 273	Missa votiva pro infirmis
fol. 273^{v}	Missa votiva pro iteragentibus
	Missa votiva pro peccatis
	Missa votiva pro peccatis
fol. 274	Missa votiva pro serenitate poscenda
fol. 275	Missa votiva pro pluvia petenda
fol. 275^{v}	Missa votiva pro vitanda mortalitate
fol. 277	Missa votiva pro pace
fol. 277^{v}	Missa votiva in tempore belli
fol. 278	Index
	Inside back cover: unrelated chants
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 7 (Rkp. perg. 5)
Kyriale and Gradual, seventeenth–eighteenth-century

60 cm x 47 cm
1 blank folio
First folio with text and music is numbered 5

fol. 5	Kyries and Glorias
fol. 15^{v}	Credos
fol. 35	Sanctus and Agnus Dei chants
fol. 45	Immaculate Conception: Gaudeamus Mass
fol. 48	St Damasus, p. & c.
fol. 49^{v}	St Lucy, v. & m.
fol. 50^{v}	St Thomas, ap.
fol. 53^{v}	St Stephen, protomartyr
fol. 57	Holy Innocents
fol. 58	St Thomas, b. & m.
fol. 59^{v}	St Sylvester, p. & c.
fol. 60^{v}	St Hilary
fol. 61^{v}	St Maur, abbot
fol. 62^{v}	St Marcellus, p. & m.
fol. 63^{v}	Chair of St Peter
	St Anthony, abbot
fol. 65	St Dionysius, p. & c.
	Sts Fabian & Sebastian, m.
fol. 67^{v}	St Agnes, v.& m.
fol. 68^{v}	St Anastasius, m.
fol. 79^{v}	St Vincent, m.
fol. 81^{v}	St Timothy, b. & m.
fol. 82^{v}	Conversion of St Paul
fol. 84^{v}	St Polycaerp, b. & m.
fol. 85	St John Chrysostom, d.
	St Cyril, b., c., & d.
fol. 85^{v}	St Peter Thomas, b. & m.
	St Andrew Corsini, b. & c.
	St Martina
fol. 86^{v}	St Ignatius, m.
fol. 87^{v}	Purification of B.V.M.

	Foliation numbering skips from 89 to 100
fol. 103	Within octave and octave of Purification
	St Agatha, m.
fol. 104	Later hand
	St Dorothy, v. & m.
	St Romuald, abbot
	St Apollonia, v. & m.
fol. 105	St Scholastica, v.
fol. 106	St Euphrosina
	St Valentine, m.
	Chair of St Peter at Antioch
	St Matthew, vigil + feast
fol. 107	St Avertanus, confessor ordinis nostri
	St Cyril, confessor et doctor ordinis nostri
	St Thomas Aquinas
	40 Martyrs
fol. 108	St Gregory, p. & c.
	St Euphrasia, virg. ordinis nostri
	St Joseph, confessor sponsus Genitricis Dei Virginis Marie
fol. 109	St Joachim
fol. 109^{v}	St Benedict, abbot
	Annunciation B.V.M
fol. 112	St Berthold, c. & p.
	St Francis de Paulo, c.
	St Albert
	St Leo, p. & c.
	Sts Tiburtius, Valerianus & Maximus, m.
	Sts Anicetus, p & m and Martin, b. & m.
	Sts Soterius & Caius, p. & m.
	St George, m.
fol. 112^{v}	St Mark, evangelist
fol. 113	Sts Cletus & Marcellus, p. & m.
fol. 113^{v}	St Vitalis
	St Peter, m.
	St Catherine of Siena, v.
	Sts Philip & James, ap.
fol. 115	St Athanasius, b. & c.
	Invention of Holy Cross

fol. 116v	St Angelus, m.
fol. 117	St John before the Latin Gate
fol. 118	St Stanislaus
fol. 118v	Apparition of St Michael
	St Gregory Nazianzen
	Sts Gordian & Epimachus
fol. 119v	St Simon Stock
fol. 120	St Pudentiana, v.
	St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi
	St Urban, p & m
	Sts Mark, Marcellus, Peter & Erasmus
fol. 120v	Sts Mediard & Gildard, b. & c.
fol. 121	Sts Primus & Felician, m.
fol. 122	St Barnabas, ap.
fol. 123	Sts Basilidis, Cyrinus, Nabor & Nazarius, m.
fol. 123v	St Eliseus
fol. 124	Proper chants
fol. 126	St Basil, b., c., & d.
	10,000 martyrs
fol. 127	St John the Baptist
fol. 129	Sts John & Paul, m.
fol. 130	St Leo, p. & c.
fol. 130v	Sts Peter & Paul
fol. 132	Commemoration of St Paul
fol. 133	Visitation of B.V.M.
fol. 134	Sts Rufina & Secunda, v. & m.
	7 Brothers martyrs
fol. 134v	St Pius, p. & m.
	St John Gualbert, abbot
	St Anacletus, p. & m.
	St Bonaventure, b. & c.
	Solemn Commemoration of Our Lady (= Our Lady of Mt Carmel)
fol. 135	St Alexius, c.
	St Symphorosa & 7 sons, m.
	St Elias, prophet
fol. 137v	St Mary Magdalene

fol. 138	St James apostle
	St Anne
	Sts Nazarius, Celsus & Victor, m.
	St Martha, v.
	Sts Abdon & Sennen, m.
	St Germanus, b. & c.
	St Peter in Chains
fol. 138v	St Stephen, p. & m.
	Invention of St Stephen
	St Dominic, c.
	Dedication of Our Lady of the Snows
fol. 139	Transfiguration of Our Lord
fol. 140v	St Albert
fol. 141v	Sts Cyriacus, Largus & Smaragdus, m.
fol. 143	St Lawrence
fol. 146v	Octave of St Lawrence
fol. 147	St Bernard, abbot
	Octave of Assumption
	St Bartholomew
	St Louis, c.
	St Zephyrinus, p. & m.
	St Augustine, b. & d.
	Beheading of St John the Baptist
fol. 147v	Sts Felix & Adauctus, m.
fol. 148	St Egidius, abbot
	Nativity of B.V.M.
	St Nicholas of Tollentine
fol. 149	Exaltation of Holy Cross
fol. 149v	Sts Cornelius & Cyprian, m.
	St Januarius, b & companions, m.
	St Matthew, apostle & evangelist
	St Mauritius
	St Linus, p. & m.
	St Gerard, b. & m.
	St Cleophas, m.
	Sts Cyprian & Iustus, m.
	Sts Cosmas & Damian
	Dedication of St Michael the Archangel

fol. 151	St Jerome, d.
fol. 151v	St Remigius, b. & c.
	St Leodegarius, b. & m.
	St Francis
	St Placid & companions
	St Mark, p. & c.
	St Birgittae *matronae viduae*
	Sts Dionisius, Rusticus, & Eleutherius, m.
	St Callistus, p. & m.
	St Teresa, v.
	St Luke, ev.
	St Hilarion, abbot
	St Mark, p. & m.
fol. 152	Sts Crispin & Crispinian, m.
	St Evaristus, p. & m.
	Sts Simon & Jude
	St Serap[ion], b. & c.
	All Saints
	All Souls
fol. 159	Octave of All Saints
	Dedication of the Basilica of the Saviour ('Basilicae Salvatori')
	St Martin, b. & c.
	St Brice, p. & c.
	St Pontianus, p. & m.
	St Edmund, m.
	Presentation B.V.M.
	St Cecilia, v. & m.
	St Clement, p. & m.
fol. 159v	St Chrisogonus, m.
	St Catherine, v. & m.
	St Peter Alexandrinus, b. & m.
fol. 160	Commons
	Apostles
	Apostles & Evangelists
	One martyr bishop
	One martyr bishop or not bishop T.P.

fol. 160^{v}	One confessor bishop or abbot
	Several martyrs bishops or not
	Several confessors bishops or not T.P.
	Several martyrs
fol. 161	Confessor Pope
	Doctors
fol. 161^{v}	Confessor not a pope
	Abbots
	Several confessors
fol. 162	One virgin martyr
fol. 162^{v}	Virgin not a martyr
	Holy woman (*matrona*)
fol. 163	Holy woman not a martyr
	Several virgins
	Votive Masses
	B.V.M. from Advent to Christmas
fol. 163^{v}	From Christmas to Purification
	From Purification to Easter
	From Easter to Trinity
fol. 164	The Angels
fol. 164^{v}	Holy Cross
	In danger of death (pro vitanda mortalitate)
fols 166–68	Index
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 8 (Rkp. perg. 23)
Processional, Carmelite, 1720

38.5 cm x 30.5 cm
Parchment
1 blank paper folio

fol. n.n.	Colophon: Gubernante Carmelum Polonum A. R. P. S. T. B. et D. Gregorio Radwański Hic Liber Ejusdem Cura Stetit. Anno Domini 1720.
fol. n.n.v = p. 1	
p. 1	Ave stella matutina for bass & tenor
p. 9	Veni sancta spiritus for single voice
p. 11	Gloria tibi Trinitas
p. 12	Per signum crucis; Crucifixus surrexit
p. 13	Sancta Maria succurre
p. 16	Regina Caeli
p. 17	Christi pia gratia
p. 18	Rex merita Sancti Adalberti
p. 19	Vir inclyte Stanislae
p. 21	Corde lingua rogamus te Sancte Wenceslae
p. 22	In Floriano latuit
p. 23	Caelorum candor splenduit (for St Francis)
p. 24	Sancte Sebastiane magna est
p. 26	Accinxit fortitudine lumbos tuos
p. 27	Media vita in morte
p. 28	Contere domine fortitudinem
p. 30	Quoniam Rex noster
p. 31	Domine Rex Deus
p. 32	Da pacem Domine
p. 33	In caelestibus regnis
p. 34	Omnes electi Dei
p. 35	Filiae Jerusalem venite
p. 37	Similabo eum
[Later hand]	
p. 38	Elias Dei Propheta
p. 39	Sancte Propheta Dei Elia; Gloriosi principes
p. 40	Rub. De Sancto Dominico Anno 1702 praescripte

	O lumen Ecclesiae
p. 41	Rub. De Sancto Hyacintho
	ana. Tuum Domine fac sentiamus
p. 43	Blank
	3 folios of Index:
	Index Antiphonarium quae cantari solent in Processionibus
	1 loose folio with Sanctus and Agnus Dei (paper) pp. 40–43 and Index folios are paper, not parchment
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 9 (Rkp. perg.-pap. 21) Kyriale and 2-part works, 1727

41 cm x 34 cm
2 blank pages of paper
Ms contains both parchment and paper

fol. 1	Colophon: Hoc Liber Gubernante Caenobium Istud A. R. P. Gregorio Radwański S. T. D. Ex Provinciali Scriptus. Anno Dni 1727 per R. P. B. K. S.T. M. pro tunc Regentem Studii.
fol. 1^{v}	Two-part Requiem Mass for bass and tenor
fol. 16^{v}	Monophonic Credo 'Ad Tonus Mixtus' in mensuration
fol. 21	Missa Pastoralis — mensural
fol. 29^{v}	Credo — mensural
fol. 34	Credo — mensural
fol. 38^{v}-39	Blank
fol. 39^{v}	2-voiced (tenor and bass) Mass (complete Ordinary)
fol. 56^{v}	2-voiced (tenor and vass) 'Stella Caeli extirpavit'
fol. 59^{v}	Monophonic 'Ave stella matutina' — has rhythmic groupings of notes but is not mensural as such
fol. 61^{v}	Monophonic 'Salve regina' — has rhythms but not mensural
fol. 63	Monophonic 'Regina Caeli' — rhythmic not mensural
fol. 64	Blank
fol. 64^{v}	2-voiced (tenor & bass) Salve Regina
fol. 66	Rubric at bottom: Mensure 9bri (=Novembri) Scriptum
fol. 66^{v}	(following the rubric) 2-voiced (bass & tenor) Salve Regina
fol. 68^{v}–69–70	Ruled for music but blank
fol. 70^{v}	Blank
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 10 (Rkp. pap. 18)
Kyriale and Graduale, 1738

44.5 cm x 27.5 cm
Paper
Pages not numbered

p. 1	Title Page: D. O. M. Hoc Liber sub Felici Gubernio A. R. P. S. T. M. D. Bonaventurae Kiełkowicz Ex Provincialis ac Prioris C. M. Cracoviensis Scripus est Fratrem S. C. Anno Domini 1738.
p. 2	Blank
p. 3	Asperges
p. 9	Vidi aquam
pp. 13–14	Blank
p. 15 is numbered fol. 1	
fol. 1	Mass Ordinary: Kyrie + Gloria
fol. 20v	Credos
fol. 47	Sanctus + Agnus Dei
fols 61v–63	Blank
fol. 64	Title Page: Graduale Missarum de Tempore per Annum
fol. 67	= next folio
	Advent Sunday 1
fol. 70	Advent Sunday 2
fol. 73v	Advent Sunday 3
fol. 76	Advent Sunday 4
fol. 81	Christmas (3 Masses)
fol. 85	Sunday within the Octave of Christmas
fol. 86	Circumcision
fol. 88	Sunday within the Octave of Epiphany
fol. 89v	Sunday 1 after the Octave of Epiphany
fol. 91	Sunday 2 after the Octave of Epiphany
fol. 92v	Sundays 3, 4 and 5 after the Octave of Epiphany
	Septuagesima Sunday
fol. 95	Sexagesima Sunday
fol. 97v	Quinquagesima Sunday
fol. 100	Ash Wednesday
fol. 104	Lent Sunday 1
fol. 107	Lent Sunday 2

fol. 110	Lent Sunday 3
fol. 113^{v}	Lent Sunday 4
fol. 115^{v}	Passion Sunday
fol. 119	Palm Sunday
fol. 122^{v}	Feria 2
fol. 124^{v}	Feria 3
fol. 128^{v}	Feria 4
fol. 133	Holy Thursday
fol. 133^{v}	Good Friday
fol. 139	Holy Saturday (includes some Office chants)
fol. 145	Easter + weekdays
fol. 153^{v}	Sunday in Albis
fol. 154	2nd Sunday after Eatser
fol. 155^{v}	3rd Sunday after Easter
fol. 156^{v}	4th Sunday after Easter
fol. 157^{v}	5th Sunday after Easter
fol. 158^{v}	Ascension
fol. 160	Sunday within the octave of Ascension
fol. 161^{v}	Pentecost
fol. 168	Trinity Sunday
fol. 169	Corpus Christi
fol. 172^{v}	Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi
fol. 174	2nd Sunday after Trinity
fols 203^{v}–204^{v}	Sundays 23, 24 and 25 after Trinity
fol. 205 –fol. 208^{v}	Index of chants
fol. 20	Tract — Laudate Dominum — different hand
fol. 209^{v}	Blank
	3 blank folios
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 11 (Rkp. perg. 6)
Antiphonary, 1742

63 cm x 42 cm
Parchment

fol. n.n.	Title Page: Antiphonarium Hoc Ad Laudem et Gloriam Dei Omnipotentis Prius in Essentia & Trini. In Personis necnon Salvatoris Nostri Dn. Jesu Christi. Anno ab Incarnatione Iesus Millesimo Sepingesimo Quadragesimo Secundo scripsit Adm. Rndus P. Magr. Bonaventura Kiełkowicz Sae. Theol. Doctor Ex provincialis et pro tunc Prior Conventus huius Arensis Quod Sileris adornaverunt Relig. PP. Elias Samnocki, S. Th. Cr. Et Maximilianus Lachowski.
fol. n.n.^{v}	Cantate Domino canticum novum Laus Eius in Ecclesia Sanctorum. Psal. 149
p. 1	Advent Sunday 1
p. 4	Advent Sunday 2
p. 7	Advent Sunday 3
p. 11	Advent Sunday 4
p. 12	'O' antiphons
p. 16	Christmas
p. 23	St Stephen
p. 25	St John the Evangelist
p. 28	Holy Innocents
p. 31	Circumcision
p. 35	Epiphany
p. 39	Sunday within the Octave of Epiphany
p. 40	Octave of Epiphany
p. 43	Holy Name of Jesus
p. 46	Sunday after Octave of Epiphany
p. 47	2nd and 4th Sundays after Octave of Epiphany
p. 48	3rd and 5th Sundays after Octave of Epiphany
p. 49	4th Sunday after Octave of Epiphany
p. 50	Septuagesima Sunday
p. 51	Sexagesima Sunday
p. 52	Quinquagesima Sunday
p. 53	Ash Wednesday
p. 54	Lent Sunday 1

p. 61	Lent Sunday 2
p. 66	Lent Sunday 3
p. 71	Lent Sunday 4
p. 77	Palm Sunday
p. 80	Nunc Dimittis chants
p. 83	Holy Thursday
p. 90	Good Friday
p. 95	Holy Saturday
p. 100	Easter
p. 108	Sunday in Albis
	Sundays after Easter
p. 112	Ascension
p. 118	Pentecost
p. 126	Trinity Sunday
p. 131	Corpus Christi
p. 137	Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi
p. 138	Sunday 2 after Trinity
p. 157	5th Sunday in November
	4th Sunday after Octave of Epiphany
p. 158	25th Sunday after Trinity
p. 159	Dedication of a Church
p. 163	Most Holy Name of Jesus
p. 168	Mass of Most Holy Name
p. 169	Mass of Holy Wounds ('In Officio S. Plagarum Ad Missam')
pp. 170–72	Ruled for music but blank
	6 pages of alphabetical index
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 12 (Rkp. perg. 10)
Antiphonary, 1743

62 cm x 42 cm
Parchment
3 blank paper folios at beginning

fol. n.n.	Colophon: Antiphonarium hoc ad Majorem Laudem & Gloriam Sanctorum in Caelis cum Deo regnantium Anno ab Incarnatione Dni. Nostri Jesu Christi Millesimo Septingentesimo Quadragesimo Tertio Adm. Rndus P. Mgr. Bonavent. Kiełkowicz Sae Th. Doctor et Plis Vicarius Pro. scripsit Quod picturis ac Literis Majoribus exornavit P. Elias Sammocki S. T. C.
fol. n.n.^{v}	Laudate Dominum in Sanctis Ejus. Psalm 150
p. 1	Chair of St Peter
p. 2	Sts Fabian & Sebastian
p. 5	St Agnes
p. 7	Conversion of St Paul
p. 10	St Agatha
p. 13	St Vincent
p. 15	St Matthew (Mathiae)
p. 16	Sts Perpetua & Felicity
	St Gabriel
p. 19	St Joseph, c. Protector O. N.
p. 23	St Joachim
	Patrocinio St Joseph
p. 26	Sts Philip & James
p. 28	Invention of Holy Cross
p. 31	Apparition of St Michael
	St John Before the Latin Gate
p. 32	St John the Baptist
p. 35	Sts John & Paul
p. 38	Sts Peter & Paul
p. 42	Commemoration of St Paul
p. 44	St Mary Magdalene
p. 47	St Anne
	St Peter in Chains
	Transfiguration of Our Lord

p. 50	St Cajetan
	St Lawrence
p. 52	St Tyburtius
p. 53	St Augustine
p. 56	Beheading of St John the Baptist
p. 58	Exaltation of Holy Cross
p. 60	St Thomas of Villanova
	St Cleophas
p. 61	Dedication of St Michael Archangel
p. 64	Guardian Angels
p. 66	In Officio Gratiarum Actionis
	Rub. Pro Victoria obtenta ex Turcis — refers to antiphons at 1st Vespers
p. 68	St Raphael Archangel
p. 70	All Saints
p. 75	St Martin
p. 78	St Brice
p. 80	St Cecilia
p. 82	St Clement
p. 83	St Andrew, apostle
p. 86	St Nicholas
p. 89	St Lucy
p. 91	St Thomas the apostle
p. 92	St Adalbert
p. 93	St Florian
p. 94	St Stanislaus
p. 95	Divisio Apostolorum
p. 96	Holy Sepulchre ['In Festo Sanctissimi Sepulchri Domini Nostri Iesu Christi']
p. 101	Invitatory Antiphons
pp. 111–16	Office of Five Wounds
	3 folios of index
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 13 (Rkp. perg. 3) Antiphonary, 1744

74 cm x 48.5 cm
Parchment

fol. n.n.^{v}	Ordinary chants
fol. n.n.2	Title Page: Proprium de Tempore quod Solis Diebus Dominicis Convenit Festisque Domini Sabaoth mobilibus, toto anni spatio currentibus, quae solemniter in Ecclesia Dei celebrantur Continens Antiphonas, Responsoria, Versus, caeteraque ad Vesperas & Matutinum necessaria. Conscriptum Per. P. Martinum Rubczynski S. Th. M. protunc Carmeli Majoris Leopol. Priorem. Anno Dni 1744.
fol. n.n.2^{v}	Blank
p. 1	Sunday 1 Advent (beginning with Saturday Vespers)
	M. ant. Ecce nomen Domini; Decorated 'E' for 'Ecce'
p. 4	Sunday 2 Advent
p. 7	Sunday 3 Advent
p. 9	'O' antiphons
p. 12	Sunday 4 Advent
p. 13	Christmas
p. 20	St Stephen
p. 22	St John the Evangelist
p. 23	Holy Innocents
p. 25	Circumcision
p. 29	Epiphany
p. 33	Sunday within Octave of Epiphany
p. 37	Sunday 1 after Octave of Epiphany
p. 38	Sunday 2 after Octave of Epiphany
	Sunday 3 after Octave of Epiphany
p. 39	Sunday 4 after Octave of Epiphany
p. 40	Sunday 5 after Octave of Epiphany
	Septuagesima Sunday
p. 42	Sexagesima Sunday
p. 43	Quinquagesima Sunday
p. 44	Ash Wednesday
p. 45	Lent Sunday 1
p. 50	Lent Sunday 2

p. 52	Lent Sunday 3
p. 55	Lent Sunday 4
p. 57	Passion Sunday
p. 59	Palm Sunday
p. 60	Holy Thursday
p. 65	Good Friday
p. 69	Holy Saturday
p. 73	Easter
p. 77	Sunday in Albis
p. 78	2nd Sunday after Easter
p. 79	3rd Sunday after Easter
p. 80	4th Sunday after Easter
	5th Sunday after Easter
p. 81	Rogation days
	Ascension
p. 86	Sunday with the Octave of Ascension
p. 87	Pentecost
p. 93	Trinity Sunday
p. 96	Corpus Christi
p. 100	Sunday within the Octave of Corpus Christi
p. 101	Sunday 2 after Trinity through
p. 113	25th and last Sunday after Trinity
p. 114	Chants for Terce in Sundays after Epiphany and Trinity
p. 115	Chants for August
p. 116	Chants for September
p. 118	Chants for October
p. 120	Chants for November
p. 122	Last Sunday after Trinity
p. 124	Unrelated Mass Ordinary chants
	5 folios (paper) of two-voiced Mass Ordinary chants
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 14 (Rkp. perg. 9) Antiphonary, 1744

62 cm x 42 cm
Parchment

fol. n.n.	Missa S. Brocardi, O. N. Kyrie, Gloria
fol. n.n.[v]	Sanctus, Agnus Dei
fol. n.n.2	Commune Sanctorum Antiphonis distinctum cantu Chorali expressum ac pro majori canentium Dei laudes utilitate hoc in libro espressiori nota cum charactere Exaratum per P. Martinum Rubczynski, S. Th. M. hujus Coenobii Majoris Priorem. A. D. 1744.
p. 1	Common of apostles
p. 6	Common of Evangelists
p. 12	Common of 1 martyr
p. 15	Common of martyrs, T.P.
p. 19	Common of deveral martyrs
p. 24	Common of a confessor bishop (*pontifex*)
p. 28	Common of doctors
p. 29	Common of a confessor not a bishop
p. 32	Common of several confessors
p. 34	Common of a virgin
p. 37	Common of a holy woman (*matrona*)
p. 40	Common of several virgins
p. 43	Dedication of a church
p. 49	Common of B.V.M. Numbering in manuscript becomes unreliable here; I simply continue it in sequence.
p. 52	Commemorations
p. 59	Ave stella matutina — Bass & Tenor
p. 65	Office of the Dead
p. 82	Ordinary Mass chants
p. 84	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 15 (Rkp. perg. 4) Kyriale and Graduale, 1745

fol. 1	Mass Ordinary — Kyrie, etc.
fol. 4	Colophon: Missae Solemni Ritus [. . .] Rubcynski, 1745
fol. 5	Advent Sunday 1
fol. 9^{v}	Vigil of Christmas
fol. 11	Septuagesima Sunday
fol. 15	Ash Wednesday
fol. 17	Lent Sunday 1
fol. 20	Lent Sunday 4
fol. 21^{v}	Passion Sunday
fol. 22^{v}	Palm Sunday
fol. 27^{v}	Holy Thursday
fol. 28^{v}	Good Friday
fol. 30^{v}	Holy Saturday
fol. 35	Mass Ordinary — 1st Tone
fol. 38	Mass Ordinary — 2nd Tone
fol. 30^{v}	Mass Ordinary — 3rd Tone
fol. 43	Mass Ordinary — 4th Tone
fol. 46	Mass Ordinary — 5th Tone
fol. 49	Mass Ordinary — 6th Tone
fol. 51	Common of a martyr bishop
fol. 54^{v}	Common of martyrs
fol. 56^{v}	Common of a confessor bishop
fol. 57^{v}	Common of a doctor
fol. 58	Common of a confessor not a bishop
fol. 59	Other commons
fol. 59^{v}	Common of virgins
fol. 61^{v}	Common of a holy woman (*matrona*)
fol. 62	Common of virgins
	Dedication of a church
fol. 63	Common of B.V.M.
fol. 65	Requiem Mass
fol. 71	Christmas Ordinary chants
fol. 74^{v}	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 16 (Rkp. perg. 2) Antiphonary, 1745

74.5 cm x 48.5 cm
Parchment
After p. 69 [feast of St Elias] page numbering is not reliable in original; I just continue numbering pages consecutively after this one.

fol. n.n.^{v}	Missa S. Alberti — Ordinary
fol. n.n.2	Colophon: Gloria Sanctorum in Ecclesia Dei vocis laudibus resonate. Diebus quibus Eorum solemnia ritibus piis a Christi fidelibus quotannis celebrantur Antiphonas Disposita quas Cantu Chorali expressas, Choro Carmeli Leopoliensis Majoris ad sonum et tonum exponitur. Fr Martinus Rubczynski, S. Th. Magister, Eiusdem conventus Prior. 1745.
p. 1	St Andrew
p. 4	St Nicholas
p. 6	Immaculate Conception B.V.M.
p. 11	St Lucy
p. 13	Translation of the Holy House of Loretto
	Expectation of B.V.M.
p. 14	St Thomas apostle
	Holy Name of Jesus
p. 16	Chair of St Peter
p. 17	Sts Fabian & Sebastian
p. 19	St Agnes
p. 21	Conversion of St Paul
p. 23	Purification of B.V.M.
p. 25	St Andrew Corsini
p. 27	St Agatha
p. 29	St Matthew
p. 30	St Vincent, m.
	St Gabriel
p. 32	St Joseph
p. 36	Annunciation B.V.M.
p. 37	Seven Sorrows of B.V.M.
p. 39	Corona Domini
p. 41	Patrocinio St Joseph

	Sts Philip & James, ap.
p. 42	Invention of Holy Cross
p. 45	St Angelus, m.
p. 48	St John before the Latin Gate
	Apparition of St Michael
	St Simon Stock
p. 51	St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi
p. 54	St Eliseus, prophet
p. 58	St John the Baptist
p. 61	Sts John and Paul
p. 62	Sts Peter & Paul, ap.
p. 64	Commemoration of St Paul
p. 65	Visitation of B.V.M.
p. 66	Solemn Commemoration of B.V.M.
p. 69	St Elias, prophet
p. 72	St Mary Magdalene
p. 74	St Anne
p. 75	St Peter in Chains
	Transfiguration of Our Lord
	Our Lady of the Snows
p. 77	St Albert, c.
p. 79	St Cajetan
	St Lawrence, m.
p. 82	Assumption of B.V.M.
p. 84	Transverberation of St Teresa
p. 86	St Augustine
p. 89	Beheading of St John the Baptist
p. 90	Nativity of B.V.M.
p. 91	Exaltation of Holy Cross
p. 92	St Thomas of Villanova
	St Cleophas
p. 93	Dedication of St Michael archangel
p. 95	Guardian Angels
p. 97	St Teresa
p. 100	All Saints
p. 104	St Martin
p. 107	All Saints O[rdinis] N[ostri]
p. 109	St Cecilia

p. 111	St Clement
	St Adalbert
p. 112	St Stanislaus
p. 113	In festo Gratiarum act. Per victor. — Thanksgiving
pp. 115–17	Mass of the Angels — Tonus 8; Credo; rhythms
	1 blank folio
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 17 (Rkp. perg. 25) Psalter, 1747

63 cm x 45 cm
Parchment

fol. 1	Rubrics, hymns and psalms for Prime
fol. 11	Rubrics, hymns and psalms for Terce
fol. 13^{v}	Sext
fol. 15^{v}	None
fol. 18	Sunday Vespers
fol. 22	Compline
fol. 23^{v}	Colophon: Ad maiorem Dei Omnipotens gloriam hunc Psalterii librum terminavit feliciter die 12 Octobris, A. D. 1747. Ad Martinus Rubczynski T. Th. M. M. Prior [. . .] Carmeli Maioris Leopolis [. . .] End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 18 (Rkp. perg. 7) Gradual, 1747, 1753, 1749

64 cm x 41 cm
Parchment

	Manuscript begins with four added folios
fol. 1	Two-part Ave stella matutina — Canto con Alto
fol. 1^{v}	Regina coeli — Canto con Alto
fol. 2	Regina coeli — Tenore con Basso
fol. 3	Title Page:
	Missae de Dominicis Festisque Sanctorum Toto Anni currentis tempore cantandae pro commodiori canentium modulo Notis Choralibus Expressae per P. Martinum Robczynski S. Th. M. protunc Priorem Carmeli Maioris Leopolien. Anno Domini 1747.
fol. 3^{v}	Salve Regina — Canto con Alto
	At bottom of folio: Labore R. P. Bertholdi Zlobinski editum hujus Chori Cantoris, ac per P. Fearmem (?) Rauprik conscriptum. AD 1753.
fol. 4	Salve Regina — Tenore con Basso
	Manuscript proper:
p. 1	Christmas
p. 4	St Stephen
p. 5	St John the Evangelist
	Holy Innocents
p. 6	St Thomas
p. 7	Circumcision
p. 8	Epiphany
p. 9	Sunday within octave of Epiphany
p. 10	Sundays 1 and 2 after Octave of Epiphany
p. 12	Easter
p. 18	Sunday in Albis
	Sunday 2 after Easter
p. 19	Sunday 3 after Easter = Patrocinio S. Joseph
	Sunday 4 after Easter
p. 20	Rogation days
p. 22	Ascension
p. 23	Pentecost
p. 30	Trinity Sunday

p. 33	Corpus Christi
p. 35	Sunday 2 after Trinity through
p. 58	Sunday 23 after Trinity
p. 60	S. P. N. Eliae — Tonus 1mus: 3-part Credo
p. 62	Title at top: Missa S. Bertholdi — Tonus 6tus
	Kyrie + Gloria
p. 63	= p. 1 [this part of the MS was once original and by itself, then added in to this one]
p. 63	St Andrew
fol. 65	Immaculate Conception B.V.M.
p. 67	St Thomas
	Holy Name of Jesus
p. 68	Roman Chair of Peter
p. 69	St Agnes
p. 70	Betrothal of B.V.M.
	Conversion of St Paul
p. 72	Purification B.V.M.
p. 74	St Andrew Corsini, O[rdinis] N[ostri]
	St Agatha
	St Matthew
p. 75	St Casimir
	40 martyrs
p. 76	St Gabriel archangel
p. 77	St Joseph
	St Joachim
p. 79	Annunciation B.V.M.
p. 80	Seven Sorrows B.V.M.
p. 81	Corona Domini
p. 82	Patrocinii St Joseph
p. 83	St Mark, evangelist
	Sts Philip & James, ap.
p. 84	Invention of Holy Cross
	St Angelus, m[artyr] O[rdinis] N[ostri]
	St John before the Latin Gate
	St Stanislaus
	Apparition of St Michael archangel
	St Simon Stock
	St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi

	St Philip Neri
p. 85	St Barnabas
	St Eliseus
p. 86	St John the Baptist
p. 88	Sts Peter & Paul
p. 89	Commemoration of St Paul
p. 90	Visitation of B.V.M
	Octave of Sts Peter & Paul
	Divisio Apostolorum
	Solemn Commemoration B.V.M. of Mount Carmel
	St Elias
p. 92	St Mary Magdalene
	St James, apostle
	St Anne
	St Ignatius
p. 93	St Peter in Chains
	Dedication of Our Lady of the Snows
	Transfiguration of Our Lord
p. 94	St Albert, C[onfessor] O[rdinis] N[ostri]
p. 95	St Lawrence
p. 96	Assumption of B.V.M.
	Octave of St Lawrence
p. 97	St Bartholomew
	Beheading of St John the Baptist
p. 98	Nativity of B.V. M.
	Exaltation of Holy Cross
	Holy Name of Mary
	St Nicholas of Tolentine
p. 99	St Matthew, ap.
	Our Lady of Mercy
	St Gerard
	Dedication of St Michael
p. 101	St Jerome
	Guardian Angels
	St Francis
p. 102	St Teresa, V[irginis] O[rdinis] N[ostri]
p. 104	St Luke
	Sts Simon & Jude, m.

	All Saints
	St Martin, b.
	All Saints O[rdinis] N[ostri]
p. 105	Mass of St Cyril — Tonus 2dus
	Colophon: D. O. M. Quem Decet Hymnus in Sion sanctisque Omnibus Quorum Gloria per universum orbem resonat Missae Tam antecedentes quam sequentes Dedicantur a RR. Patribus Bertholdo Zlobinski earum authore et P. Cyrillo Kulpinski earundem Scriptore. A. D. 1749.
	Mass Ordinary
p. 112	Missa S. Andrea Corsini; Tonus 3tius
p. 113	Tonus 3tius et 4tus. S. Alberti
p. 117	Missa S. Mariae Magd. de Paz. Tomus 5tus.
p. 122	S. Bertholdi. Tomus 6tus.
p. 124	Missa Solem. Immac. Conc. Virgi. Mariae Tomus 7mus.
p. 125	Different hand. Kyrie for Alto, Tenore I, Tenore II.
p. 126	Blank (original pasted over)
p. 127	Continuation of p. 124–7th Tone Mass
p. 128	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 19 (Rkp. perg. 8) Antiphonary, eighteenth century

62 cm x 42 cm
Parchment
Manuscript is undated but seems to be eighteenth century

p. 1	Common of apostles
p. 5	Common of evangelists extra T. P.
p. 9	Common of apostles or evangelists T.P.
p. 12	Common of a martyr extra T. P.
p. 14	Common of several martyrs extra T. P.
p. 18	Common of a confessor bishop
p. 21	Common of a confessor not a bishop
p. 23	Common of several confessor bishops
p. 25	Common of a virgin
p. 28	Common of a holy woman (*matrona*)
p. 30	Common of several virgin martyrs
p. 32	Commemorations (usually single antiphons):
p. 36	All Carmelite saints
p. 40	Most Holy Name of Jesus
p. 43	St Andrew Corsini
p. 46	St Joseph
p. 50	St Joachim
	St Gabriel archangel
p. 53	Corona Domini
p. 55	St Angelus, m.
p. 60	St Simon Stock
p. 64	St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi
p. 68	Holy Name of Mary
p. 75	Patronage [Patroncinio] of St Joseph
p. 77	St Thomas of Villanova
p. 79	Guardian Angels
p. 81	Thanksgiving
p. 83	Sunday antiphons
p. 84	Ferial day antiphons
p. 88	Antiphon for B.V.M. feasts: Alma Redemptoris Mater
p. 90	Missa de Pietate

p. 91	St Gabriel Archangel Mass
p. 93	Common — dedication of a church
p. 94	Votive Mass of Blessed Sacrament
p. 95	Missa pro Serenitate
p. 96	Missa pro vitanda Mortalitate tempore Pestilentie
p. 98	Mass of St Elias
p. 100	Missa pro Impetranda Pluvia
p. 101	Missa de B.V. Maria
p. 103	Mass in Duplex Maioribus 1st and 2nd Classes
p. 106	Mass of Our Lady
p. 110	St Eliseus Mass
p. 111	Missa in Feriis & Votivis Missis
p. 131	Marian Magnificat Antiphon
p. 132	Assumption M. ant.
p. 133	Ant. At Terce from Dominica in albis
	Ant. At Terce for nativity of B.V.M.
p. 134	Index — 3 unnumbered pages
	Later hand addition:
p. 137	St Teresa of Avila office
p. 139	St Teresa of Avila Mass
p. 141	Antiphons for Solemn Commemoration
p. 142	Assumption
p. 145	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 20 (Rkp. perg.-pap. 16)
Two-Voice Ave Stella Matutina Antiphon

47.5 cm x 34 cm

Inside front cover	Blank
fol. 1	Ave stella matutina — Tenore
fol. 3v	Blank
	End of manuscript
Inside back cover	Ex Bibliotheca Patrum Carmelitarum Antiquae Observantiae Regulum. Conventus Cracoviensis S. Thoma Apostoli. Carmen.

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 21 (Rkp. pap. 22) Antiphonary, eighteenth–nineteenth century

40 cm x 29 cm
Begins at p. 3
Manuscripts has Magnificat and Little Hour antiphons

p. 3	Advent Sunday 2
p. 5	Advent Sunday 3
p. 7	'O' antiphons
p. 9	Advent Sunday 4
p. 10	Christmas
p. 11	Epiphany
p. 17	Septuagesima Sunday
p. 19	Lent Sunday 1
p. 24	Sundays after Easter
p. 29	Sundays after Trinity
p. 47	St Andrew
p. 49	St Nicholas
p. 51	Conception of B.V.M.
p. 55	St Lucy
p. 57	St Thomas
	Christmas
p. 61	St Stephen
p. 63	Circumcision
p. 66	Epiphany
p. 70	Sts Fabian & Sebastian
p. 72	St Agnes
p. 74	Conversion of St Paul
p. 76	St Andrew Corsini
p. 77	Purification of B.V.M.
p. 79	St Agatha
p. 81	Annunciation B.V.M.
p. 83	Holy Saturday + Easter + octave
p. 89	St Adalbert
p. 93	St Florian
	St John before the Latin Gate
	St Stanislaus

p. 94	Ascension
p. 97	Pentecost
p. 100	Trinity Sunday
p. 102	Corpus Christi
p. 105	St Eliseus, prophet
p. 107	St John the Baptist
p. 109	St Lawrence
p. 110	Assumption of B.V.M.
p. 121	St Augustine
p. 123	Beheading of St John the Baptist
p. 124	Nativity of B.V.M.
p. 125	Exaltation of Holy Cross
	Dedication of St Michael Archangel
p. 127	Guardian Angels
p. 128	All Saints
p. 130	St Martin
	New numbering for folios
p. 5	Common of evangelists, etc.
pp. 21–24	Dedication of a Church
	1 folio of Index
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 22 (Rkp. perg. 11)
Hymnal + Kyriale, eighteenth–nineteenth century

62 cm x 41 cm
Parchment

fol. 1	Temporal hymns
	Te lucis ante terminum
fol. 1ᵛ	Jesu salvator saeculi
fol. 2	Salvator mundi
	Conditor alme syderum
fol. 2ᵛ	Veni redemptor
	Hostis herodes
fol. 3	Aeterne rerum conditor
	Lucis creator optime
fol. 3ᵛ	O lux beata trinitas
	Ex more docti mystico
fol. 4	Nunc sancta nobis spiritus
	Ad preces nostras deitatis
fol. 4ᵛ	Vexilla Regis
	Chorus nove Jerusalem
fol. 5	Aeterne rex altissime
	Beata nobis gaudia
fol. 5ᵛ	Veni creator spiritus
	Adesto sancta trinitas
fol. 6	Pange lingua
	Sanctoral hymns:
fol. 6ᵛ	Holy Name of Jesus: Jesu dulcis
	Veni redemptor
	Chair of St Peter: Iam bone pastor
fol. 7	7 Sorrows of B.V.M.: Stabat mater
	Holy Cross: Signum crucis
fol. 7ᵛ	St Mary Magdalene: Lauda mater ecclesia
	Tibi Christe splendor
fol. 8	Common of apostles & evangelists: Exultet caelum
	Deus tuorum militum, etc.
fol. 11	Assumption: Gaudium mundi
fol. 11ᵛ	Marian antiphons

fol. 12v	Credo from Misse hyemalis
fol. 14v	Missa ad libitum
fol. 19	Credo in festivitatibus solemnibus
fol. 21v	Mensural Salve Regina for two Tenor parts
fol. 24	Mass of St Brocard (including Credo) — fol. 25= back cover
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 23 (Rkp. pap. 19)
Kyriale, eighteenth–nineteenth century

44 cm x 28 cm
Paper

fol. 1	Mass, Kyrie through Agnus Dei: mensural
fol. 9	Mass, Kyrie through Agnus Dei: mensural
fol. 14	Mass, Kyrie through Agnus Dei: mensural
fol. 21	Mass, Kyrie through Agnus Dei: mensural
fol. 26	Mass, Kyrie through Agnus Dei: mensural
fol. 32^{v}	Mass, Kyrie through Agnus Dei: mensural
fol. 37^{v}	Mass, Kyrie through Agnus Dei: mensural
fol. 43	Mass, Kyrie through Agnus Dei: mensural
fol. 47	Blank
fol. 47^{v}	Mass for Tenor & Bass: Kyrie, Gloria, Credo [incipit only]
fol. 54^{v}–57	Blank
fol. 57^{v}	Mass (probably later hand): Kyrie, Gloria, Credo for one voice
fol. 61–62^{v}	Mass: Kyrie, Gloria, Sanctus, Agnus Dei
	1–1/2 folios with music staves and no notation
	3–1/2 blank folios
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 24 (Rkp. pap. 17)
Kyriale, eighteenth–nineteenth century

46 cm x 29.5 cm
Paper

fol. 1	Title Page: Missa in Ecclaesia Dei resonate diebus Dominicis Adventus et Septuagesima quibus solemnia ritibus piis a Christi fidelibus quotanni celebrantur que cantu chorali Gregorianoque, Choro Carmeli Leopoliensis Sancti Monialium ad sonum et tonum exponuntur.
fol. 1^{v}–2	Blank
fol. 2^{v}	Mass Ordinary Nro. Primo
fol. 4	Mass Ordinary Nro. Secundo
fol. 6	Mass Ordinary Nro. Tertio
fol. 7^{v}	Mass Ordinary Nro. Quarto; 2-voiced: Canto & Alto
fol. 11^{v}	Mass Ordinary Nro. Quinto; 2-voiced: Alto Primo & Alto Secundo
fol. 16^{v}	Mass Ordinary — single voice — VI
fol. 17^{v}	Mass Ordinary — VII
fol. 19	Mass Ordinary — VIII
fol. 20^{v}	Mass IX
fol..22	Mass X
fol. 23^{v}	Mass XI: for Alto & Canto
fol. 27	Mass XII: mensurated single voice
fol. 30	Credo I — originally had separate numbering — was added in to this manuscript
fol. 33^{v}	Credo II
fol. 36	Credo III
fol. 40^{v}	Credo IV — Credo a due
fol. 44^{v}	Credo V — two voiced
fol. 49^{v}	Credo VI — two voiced
fol. 52	Credo VII — single voice
fol. 57^{v}	Credo VIII — single voice
fol. 61^{v}	Credo IX — single voice
fol. 65	Credo X — single voice
fol. 69^{v}	Credo XI — two voiced
fol. 75	'Qui propter nos' section
fol. 77^{v}	Manuscript ends abruptly

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 25 (Rkp. pap. 24)
Antiphonary, nineteenth century

37.5 cm x 26 cm

Paper
1 blank folio

fol. 1	Advent Sunday 1
fol. 3	Advent Sunday 2
fol. 5	Advent Sunday 3
fol. 7	Advent Sunday 4
fol. 11^{v}	Christmas
fol. 16	St Stephen
fol. 18	St John the Evangelist
fol. 19	Holy Innocents
fol. 19^{v}	Sunday within the Octave of Christmas
fol. 20^{v}	Circumcision
fol. 22^{v}	Epiphany
fol. 24^{v}	Sunday within the Octave of Epiphany
fol. 26	Sunday 1 after Octave of Epiphany
fol. 28	Septuagesima Sunday
fol. 29^{v}	Sexagesima Sunday
fol. 30	Quinquagesima Sunday
fol. 31^{v}	Lent Sunday 1
fol. 33^{v}	Lent Sunday 2
fol. 35	Lent Sunday 3
fol. 38	Passion Sunday
fol. 39^{v}	Palm Sunday & Holy Week
fol. 47	Easter
fol. 53	2nd Sunday after Easter
fol. 56	Ascension
fol. 60	Pentecost
fol. 63	Trinity Sunday
fol. 65^{v}	Corpus Christi
fol. 68	2nd Sunday after Trinity to
fol. 79^{v}	24th Sunday after Trinity + 1st Sunday of November
	Sunday after Epiphany
fol. 80	5th Sunday after Epiphany

fol. 80v	Sundays in November + 6th Sunday after Trinity
fol. 81v	Blank
fol. 82	Corpus Christi chants
fol. 83	Blank
fol. 84	St Andrew
fol. 85	St Nicholas
fol. 86v	Conception of B.V.M.
fol. 89	St Lucy
fol. 89v	St Thomas the Apostle
fol. 90	Chair of St Peter
	Sts Fabian & Sebastian
fol. 91v	St Agnes
fol. 92v	Sts Vincent & Anastasius
fol. 93	Second Agnes
fol. 94	Conversion of St Paul
fol. 95v	Purification of B.V.M.
fol. 96v	St Agatha
fol. 97v	St Matthew, ap.
	Annunciation B.V.M.
fol. 99	St Adalbert
fol. 99v	Sts Philip & James
fol. 100	Invention of Holy Cross
fol. 101v	St Florian, m.
	St John before the Latin Gate
fol. 102	St Stanislaus
fol. 102v	Apparition of St Michael
fol. 104	St Eliseus, O[rdinis] N[ostri]
fol. 106	St John the Baptist
fol. 108	Sts John & Paul
fol. 109	Sts Peter & Paul
fol. 111	Commemoration of St Paul
fol. 112	Visitation B.V.M.
fol. 112v	Solemn Commemoration of B.V.M.
fol. 114v	St Elias
fol. 117	St Mary Magdalene
fol. 118	St Peter in Chains
fol. 118v	St Anne
	Transfiguration

fol. 119ᵛ	St Albert
fol. 121	St Lawrence
fol. 123	Assumption
fol. 124ᵛ	St Augustine
fol. 126ᵛ	Beheading of St John the Baptist
fol. 127ᵛ	Nativity of B.V.M.
	Exaltation of Holy Cross
fol. 128	Invention of Archangel Michael
fol. 129	All Saints
fol. 131ᵛ	St Martin
fol. 133	St Brice
fol. 134	St Cecilia
fol. 135	St Clement
fol. 136ᵛ	Our Lady of the Snows
	St Cleophas
fol. 137	End of proper of saints
fol. 137ᵛ	Blank
fol. 138	Common of the Saints
	Common of Apostles, etc.
fol. 156	Dedication of a Church
fol. 158	Common of B.V.M. on Saturday
fol. 162	Office of the Dead
fol. 169ᵛ	Nunc Dimittis antiphons
fol. 171ᵛ	Blank
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 26 (MS pap. 26)
Tractatus de accentis, eighteenth century

Traktat o Akcentach (Tractatus de accentis)
Paper; XVIII c., 24 folios
21.8 x 18 cm

fol. 1	In nomine Domini. Amen. Modus Ponendi Accentus
	Ordered by number
fol. 1^{v}	Benedicamus Domino formulas
fol. 3	Dixit Dominus formulas
fol. 5	Incipits of hymns
fol. 12	Formulas for singing 'Nunc sancte nobis Spiritus'
fol. 13^{v}	Selected responsories
fol. 19	Selected hymns or incipits organized by tone
fol. 22	Ite missa est formulas
fol. 22^{v}	Blank
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 27 (MS pap. 27)
Tractatus de Accentis, seventeenth century

Tractatus de Accentis

Paper, XVII c., 28 folios + XVIII
21 x 16 cm

fol. 1	In nomine Domini an Modus Ponendi Accentus
	Accents by tone
fol. 4^{v}	Magnificat formulas
fol. 5^{v}	Selected hymn incipits: Conditor alme syderum etc.
fol. 15^{v}	Modus canendi Nunc Sancte nobis
fol. 16^{v}	Modus canendi responsoria
fol. 25	Modus canendi Gloria
fol. 26	Gospel tones
fol. 26^{v}	Epistle tones
fol. 27^{v}	Ite missa est formulas
fol. 28^{v}	End of regular part of manuscript
	5 blank folios
	6 pages of writing in a student hand
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 28 (MS pap. 28)
Tractatus de Accentis, eighteenth century

Tractatus de Accentis
Paper. XVIII c., 50 folios + I
19.8 x 17 cm

p. 1	In nomine Domini. An Modus Ponendi Accentus Selected chants:
p. 9	Hymn: Conditor alme siderum
p. 19	Presentation Hymn : Gaudium mundi nova Stella
p. 24	Hymns for commons
p. 26	Tones for Nunc sancte nobis Spiritus
p. 48	Tones for Ite missa est
p. 52	Blank
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 29 (MS pap. 29)
Prayer book, nineteenth Ccentury

Nineteenth century
Small personal devotional book
Hand written by one of the friars (presumably a novice)

p. 1	Inside cover
p. 2	Gloria patri formulas
p. 6	Praefatio solemnis
p. 8	Missae solemnes; In dupl. maj. I Classis extra Tempus Paschale
p. 18	In fest. Dupl. maj. II classis extra Tempus Paschale
p. 27	In festis Solemn. Beatae Mariae V. In vel extra Temp. Pasch.
p. 37	In festis Dupl. min. 1 Classis (extra Tempus Paschale)
p. 46	Missa Ordinaria In festis dupl. min. 2 Classis extra Tempus Paschale
p. 55	In festis B. Mariae V. (ordinar. in vel extra Temp. Pasch.)
p. 62	In Dominicis extra tempus paschale
p. 67	In fest. Sempdupl. (et infra octav.) extra Temp. Pasch.
p. 69	Tempus Paschale
p. 75	In Miss. Votiv. (In vel extra Temp. Pasch.) excl. de Beata
pp. 76–77	Blank
p. 80	In Missis Ferialibus
pp. 82–83	Blank
p. 86	Blank
p. 87	Requiem Mass
p. 100	Tract 'De profundis'
pp. 103–04	Blank
p. 105	Dies Irae
pp. 109-111	Blank
p. 112	Adoro te devote
p. 115	Blank
p. 116	Office of the dead
p. 119	Blank
p. 120	In offic. S. C. Jesu: Diligite cor Domine
	+ 13 blank pages
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 30 (MS pap. 30)
Instructio Brevis, seventeenth century

Instructio Brevis
Paper. XVII c., 65 pages + 9
19.5 x 15 cm
Manuscript is in very poor condition — perhaps damaged by water

p. 1	In nomine domini Amen. Instructio Brevis pro addiscendo Cantu Chorali ad Usum [. . .]
p. 2	Caput 1mum
	De cantu chorali et ejus origine
p. 4	Caput 2dum De clavibus et eorum transpositione
p. 7	Caput 3tium. De vocibus et earum mutatione
p. 12	Caput 4tum. De notarum figuris
p. 13	Caput 5tum. De pausis Mensuris et Tactu
p. 15	Caput 6tum. De modis seu intervallis in Cantu
p. 21	Caput 8um. De modo exercendi se in Cantu isto
p. 25	Caput 9. Quid observandum est in bene cantando.
p. 27	Modus ponendi Accentum
p. 28	De modo cantandi Benedicamus Domino
p. 31	Psalm singing: Dixit Dominus
p. 33	Hymn singing: Conditor alme syderum, etc.
p. 46	Nunc sancte nobis Spiritus formulas
p. 63	Salve Regina
pp. 65–68	Blank
pp. 69–73	Index
p. 74	Blank
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 31 (MS pap. 31) Cantionale, eighteenth century

Cantionale
Paper. XVIII c., 32 folios
19.5 x 15.8 cm

fol. 1	Hymns: Veni creator Spiritus, etc.
fol. 15^{v}	Nunc sancte Spiritus incipits — according to rank of the feast
fol. 18	Incipit formulas for responsories
fol. 31^{v}	Antiphon formulas: In Vigilia Nativitatis Dni.
fol. 32^{v}	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 32 (MS pap. 32) Traktat o Chorale (Tractatus de choralis) and so-called 'Directorium choris,' 1739

Paper. 1739. 112 pages + IX.
26.5 x 22 cm

fol. n.n.	Title Page:
	Directorium Chori iuxta Ritum Ordinis Fratrum Beatae Dei G. Virginis Mariae Antiq. Reg. Observantiae Provm. Pol. Minoris Continens Instructiones in Cantu Chorali necnon ea quae ad Sacra Officia Cantu persolvenda pertinent. Labore Adm. R. Patris M. Bonaventura Kiełkowicz S. T. D. Ex P. V. P. : & Prioris Con. Arenen ex Diversis Authoribus. Anno Dni 1739. Collectum ac eodem Anno Fratre Sergio Gałuskiewicz Presbytero Scriptum.
fol. n.n.^{v}	Blank
p. 1	In nomine Dni Nri
	Instructio Brevis pro addiscendo cantu chorali ad usum iuventuti studiosae per capita et quaestiones porrecta.
	Caput Primum: De cantu chorali et eius origine
p. 3	Caput secundum. De clavibus & earum Transpositione
p. 6	Caput tertium. De vocibus & earum Mutatione
p. 11	Caput quartum. De notarum Figuris
p. 12	Caput quintum. De Pausis, Mensuris & Tactu
p. 14	Caput sextum. De Modis seu Intervallis in Cantu
p. 16	Caput septimum. De Tonis
p. 19	Caput octavum. De modo exercendi se in cantu isto seu de Solmifatione
p. 24	Caput 9num. Quid observandum est in bene canendo Textu
p. 26	Modus incipiendi Horas (organized by tone)
p. 39	De Tonis Canticorum
p. 64	De modo canendi responsoria horarum
p. 81	Gloria patri tones
p. 89	Modus canendi Passiones in Hebdomada Majori
p. 94	Genealogia in Nocte Natalis Domini
p. 99	Genealogia in Nocte Epiphaniae
p. 104	Te Deum
p. 107	Ave stella matutina
p. 109	Salve regina

p. 110	Regina Caeli
p. 111	Ave virgo Florentina — St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi
p. 115	Index
p. 118	End of manuscript
	1 extra folio with writing in Polish on first page

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 33A (MS pap. 33) Printed Processional, 1666

Printed book, not manuscript, but is bound with the following two manuscripts

Inside front cover	Ex libris Bibliotheca Conventus Leopoliensis [. . .]
Title Page	Processionale Fratrum Ordinis B. M. Virginis de Monte Carmeli, ex Missali & Ceremoniali transuptum Usui annuali pro processionibus faciendis per necessarium cum licentia superiorum. Cracoviae: Apud Heredes & Suc. Lucae Kupisz, S. R. M. Typ. Anno Domini, 1666.
p. 1	Purification B.V.M.
p. 7	Feria iv. Cinerum
p. 11	Palm Sunday
p. 22	Holy Thursday
p. 42	Easter
p. 47	Ascension
p. 48	Corpus Christi
p. 51	Visitation
p. 53	St Elias prophet
p. 56	St Albert
p. 57	Assumption B.V.M.
p. 61	Processio Mortuorum
p. 81	Officium Defunctorum
p. 108	End of manuscript
	Cracoviae, Typis Universitatis, A. 1682

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 33 (MS pap. 33) Cantionale c. 1700

Cantionale from around 1700
Rubrics in Polish
Small personal hymnal
Name of Fr Victor on fol. 1

fol. 1	Advent hymn Conditor alme siderum
fol. 2	Veni redemptor omnium
	Selected hymns:
fol. 7	Lucis creator optime
fol. 13	Beata nobis gaudia
fol. 18	Custodes hominum
fol. 23	Vexilla regis
fol. 29	Signum crucis mirabile
fol. 36v	Genealogy
fol. 39	St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi
	Pange Carmeli speciose
fol. 40v	Index (illegible)
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 34 (MS pap. 34)
Lamentations of Jeremiah [1671]

fol. 41	Title Page with date of 1671
	Incipit Lamentatio Hieremiae Prophetae. Aleph. Quomodo sedet, etc.
fol. 59	Lamentatione Ieremiae Prophetae. Heth. Misericoridae Domini
fol. 60 = fol. 19	Numbering changes here
fol. 20ᵛ	Aleph. Quomodo obscuratum est aurum
fol. 26	Kyrie eleison
fol. 32ᵛ (also fol. 73ᵛ)	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 35 (MS pap. 35)
Concentus Psalmodiae Choralis , 1766

MS Rkp. pap. sine signatura 1 = Rkp. pap. 35

Title Page	Concentus Psalmodiae Choralis ad Decantandam Laudem Divinam Accommodatus ac Conscriptus Per F. P. Josephum Pleindinger Ordinis Beatae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmeli. Leopoli. Anno 1766. At bottom in smaller print: Patris O. Floriani Rzewski Carmelite.
p. 1	Invitatorium Pro die Nativitatis Dni
p. 2	Feria quinta. In Caena Domini
p. 5	Holy Saturday
p. 10	Pentecost
p. 16	Hymns
p. 22	Hymns for proper of the saints
p. 29	Responsories for Terce
p. 35	Responsories for Compline
p. 37	Office of the Dead
p. 64	Procession for Palm Sunday
p. 74	Purification
p. 76	Index
p. 80	Is marked p. 76: 'Quia peccavi' chant
p. 81	Requiem eternam
p. 82	Advent antiphon: O sapientia
p. 83	Tone for the martyrology
	Several blank pages
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 36 (MS pap. 36)

MS Rkp. pap. sine signatura 2 = Rkp. pap. 36
nineteenth century; small devotional book; part-book for singing

fol. 1	Blank
fol. 1v–2	Requiem eternam; Parallel parts on left hand and right hand pages: 2-part music
fol. 3v–4	Kyrie eleison
fol. 4v–5	Dies irae
fol. 12v–13	Domine Jesu Christe Rex gloriae
fol. 15v–16	Sanctus
fol. 17v–18	Agnus Dei
fol. 21v	Blank
	End of manuscript

Kraków, Carmelite Monastery, Book A
Processional, 1666

20 cm x 15 cm
Pages are not numbered
Processionale Fratrum Ordinis B. M. Virginis de Monte Carmeli [. . .] 1666

p. 1	Purification
p. 7	Ash Wednesday
p. 11	Palm Sunday
p. 22	Holy Thursday
p. 40	Good Friday
p. 42	Easter Sunday
p. 47	Ascension
p. 48	Corpus Christi
p. 51	Visitation of B.V.M.
p. 53	St Elias
p. 55	St Albert
p. 57	Assumption of B.V.M.
p. 61	Processio mortuorum [4 Stations]
p. 69	In sepultura fratrum
p. 79	In sepultura parvulorum
p. 83	Officium defunctorum
p. 113	Antiphon for St Andrew Corsini
p. 114	End of book
	Publication: Cracoviae, Typis Universitatis. A. 1682.

Kraków, Carmelite Monastery, Book B Processional, 1711

19 cm x 11.5 cm

p. iij	Letter
p. vij	Monita
p. x	Index
p. 1	Purification of B.V.M.
p. 9	Palm Sunday
p. 20	Holy Thursday
p. 35	Easter Vigil & Pentecost
p. 46	Easter
p. 51	Ascension
p. 56	Assumption of B.V.M.
p. 61	Processions of Most Blessed Sacrament
p. 84	Processions of Scapular or other solemnities of B.V.M.
p. 103	Compline from Trinity Sunday to Holy Thursday
	Ant. Salve Regina
p. 105	Ant. Regina Caeli
p. 106	Processions for Our Lady of Sorrows (Dolorosae Virginis Mariae)
p. 110	St Barbara
p. 112	St Andrew Corsini
p. 113	St Joseph
p. 115	St Angelus, m.
p. 116	St Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi
p. 120	St Elias
p. 123	St Anne
p. 126	Blessing of St Albert's water
p. 128	St Teresa
p. 130	All Saints of our Order
p. 132	Common of apostles
p. 134	Common of a martyr
p. 135	Common of 1 or several martyrs T.P.
p. 137	Common of several martyrs
p. 138	Common of a confessor
p. 139	Common of a virgin or holy woman ['De virgine vel matrona']
p. 141	De pluribus vel omnibus sanctis

p. 145	Dedication of a temple
p. 148	Votive Masses
	Tempore tribulationis cujuscumque
p. 155	Hymnus sanctorum Ambrosii et Augustini = Te Deum
p. 161	In die animarum: Libera me Domine
p. 166	Processio defunctorum (stations)
p. 173	Burial of brothers or sisters
p. 184	Pro sepultura extraneorum
p. 188	Pro sepultura solemni parvulorum
p. 191	Litany of B.V.M.
p. 205	Litaniae Divae Virginis Neapolitanae
p. 208	Facultas Rmi. Patris Generalis
	Facultas Rmi. Adm. Patris Provincialis
	End of book

Kraków, Carmelite Monastery, Book C Processional, 1759

20 cm x 17 cm

p. n.n.	Title Page
p. n.n.^{v}	Ad cantorem
p. 1	Purification of B.V.M.
p. 2	Ash Wednesday
p. 4	Palm Sunday
p. 11	Holy Thursday
p. 19	Good Friday
p. 21	Holy Saturday
p. 23	St Albert
p. 25	Assumption of B.V.M.
p. 26	Office of the Dead
p. 59	Mass of the Dead
p. 68	Procession
p. 73	Conductus in sepultura fratrum
p. 79	Conductus in sepultura extraneorum
p. 81	Conductus in sepultura parvulorum
p. 82	Synopsis alphabetica memoriter cantandorum [= list of incipits]
p. 103	Additamentum
p. 106	Canticorum Intonationes
p. 109	Index Contentorum
(p. 110)	Blank, followed by
pp. 1–15	Instructio Cantus Choralis
3 pages	Blank
	End of book

Kraków, Carmelite Monastery, Book C1

Same as Book C, except for extra pages added at the end.
After p. 15 of Instructio Cantus Choralis

p. 16	Owner's name [presumably]
p. 17	Responsorium ad D. Jesum Crucifixum:
	O dulcissimo Jesu
p. 18	Blank
p. 19	In festo SS. Corporis Christi
	O sacrum convivium — bass part
p. 20	Lauds antiphons
p. 22	Hymn: Jesu lucis orto
	Libera Cracoviense
p. 25	Blank
p. 26	In pace in idipsum
p. 28	Libera Kiolcense [?] — bass and tenor parts
pp. 31-32	Blank
	End of book

Kraków, Carmelite Monastery, Book D
Directorium Chori, 1768

20 cm x 16 cm

pp. 1–15	Instructio Cantus Choralis
p. 16	O sapientia
p. 17 = p. 1	In Nativitate Domini
p. 13	Ash Wednesday
p. 19	Holy Thursday
p. 25	Good Friday
p. 33	Holy Saturday
p. 40	Apertio sepulchri
p. 43	Dominica Resurrectionis
p. 57	Pentecost
p. 59	Corpus Christi
p. 63	St Albert
p. 65	Office of the Dead
p. 101	Mass of the Dead
p. 112	Conductus in sepultura fratrum
p. 120	Conductus in sepultura extraneorum
p. 121	Conductus in sepultura parvulorum
p. 123	Processio cum quatuor stationibus
p. 129	In festo S. Marci evangelistae et tribus diebus rogationum
p. 135	Mscislawiae
p. 137	(Handwritten) prayers
p. 139	Handwritten text & music
p. 140	Series of musical notes
	End of book.

Kraków, Carmelite Monastery, Book E
Directorium Chori of Fr Archangelus Paulius

Date of 1913 on page opposite the inside front cover, obviously by last owner; did not photograph.

p. n.n.	Index
p. 1	Directorium chori [. . .] F. Archangelum Paulium
p. 17	Holy Thursday
pp. 19–22	Missing
p. 41	De tono hymni horarum
p. 46	De modo canendi responsoria horarum
p. 65	Modus canendi Evangelium
p. 79	De tonis canticorum
p. 81	Ad completorium
p. 87	Toni omnium hymnorum
p. 99	Hymni de Proprio Sanctorum
p. 109	Hymni de communi sanctorum
p. 117	Processionale
p. 125	Sabbato Sancto
p. 127	Ascension
p. 130	Purification
p. 136	Assumption of B.V.M.
p. 139	Solemn Reception of Prior General
p. 143	Processio mortuorum
p. 148	De sepultura fratrum
p. 160	De sepultura extraneorum
p. 162	De sepultura parvulorum
p. 164	Date of 1833 and owner, Fr Ladislaus Gołaszewski
	End of book

Kraków, Carmelite Monastery, Book E1

This is a copy of Book E, with the following section added.

p. 164	Extra prayer written in by hand		
p. 165	Ordo Lit. M. in Festo S. Marci et tribus diebus. Rogationum. Some Hufnagelschrift is used here.		
p. 166	No Music		
	Antiphons for:	Holy Cross	
		B.V.M.	
		Apostles	
p. 167		St Mark	
		Patron of the Church, St Adalbert	
		St Stanislaus	
		St Nicholas	
		St Anne	
		For Serenity	
p. 168		For Peace	
p. 169		All Saints	
p. 171	Orations and Verses:		For B.V.M.
			Apostles
			St Mark
			St Albert
p. 172			St Anne
			St Nicholas
			Against Enemies of the Church
			For the King
p. 173			For Serenity
			Rain
			Peace
			All Saints
p. 175	Index		
p. 176	End of book		

Kraków, Carmelite Monastery, Book F
Directorium Chori, 1755

22 cm x 13 cm

Inside front cover	Directorium Chori
fol. n.n.	Blank
fol.2 n.n.	Versicles — Emitto spiritum, etc.
fol. 1	Personal copy of some chants — e.g., Vidi aquam
fol. 3	Officium defunctorum [hand written copy]
fol. 8–11^{v}	Other chants: De spiritu sancto, etc.
fol. 12	Directorium Chori Title Page: Nos Fr Joseph Albertus Ximenez [General . . .] 1755
fol. 12^{v}	Index eorum quae in hoc Directorio continentur
p. 13^{v}	Index hymnorum
fol. 14 = p. 1	Directorium chori [. . .] Modus incipiendi horas
p. 5	Christmas genealogy
p. 15	Feria Quinta in coena Domini
p. 26	Office of Holy Saturday
p. 34	Benedictus formulas
p. 37	Hymn tones
p. 42	De modo canendi responsoria horarum
p. 52	Tonus orationis ad Horas
p. 53	Antiphona ante Missam Conventualem
p. 54	Gloria patri formulas
p. 57	Formulas before readings, Gospel, Credo, Ite missa est
p. 66	Psalm tones
p. 73	Compline formulas
p. 79	Hymn tones
p. 100	Hymns for Commons of saints
p. 107	Processional
	Palm Sunday
p. 115	Holy Saturday
p. 116	Ascension
p. 119	Purification
p. 124	Assumption
p. 127	Solemn Reception of Master General
p. 131	Processio mortuorum

p. 146	De sepultura extraneorum
p. 148	De sepultura parvulorum
p. 150	Assumption B.V.M.
p. 152	In festis solemnioribus
Insert [pp. 257–64]	Dominica resurrectionis
[p. 153]	Pages are no longer numbered
	Corpus Christi [hand written]
[p. 159]	Chants for adoration of the Cross
[p. 161]	Salve regina
[p. 165]	Hymns to St Anne
[p. 169]	Litany of B.V.M.
[p. 171]	Blank
[p. 172]	Hymn texts for B.V.M.
[p. 176]	Blank
	End of book

Kraków, Carmelite Monastery, Book G
Processional

19.5 cm x 14.5 cm
Pages are not numbered

p. 1	Officium defunctorum
p. 31	St Andrew Corsini
p. 33	Purification of B.V.M.
p. 37	Ash Wednesday
p. 41	Palm Sunday
p. 52	Holy Thursday
p. 69	Good Friday
p. 72	Easter Sunday
p. 77	Ascension
p. 78	Corpus Christi
p. 81	Visitation of B.V.M.
p. 83	St Elias, prophet
p. 85	St Albert (blessing of water)
p. 87	Assumption of B.V.M.
p. 91	Processio mortuorum
p. 99	In sepultura fratrum
p. 108	In sepultura cadaverorum extraneorum
pp. 109–12	In sepultura parvulorum
p. 113	Hand written notes about the feast of the Assumption
	1 blank page
	End of book.

Kraków, Carmelite Monastery, Book H
Rudimenta Musicae Choralis for the Diocese of Kraków

21 cm x 16 cm

fol. nn.	Title Page
fol. nn.^{v}	Insignia
fol. 2 nn.	Dedication to the bishop and dedicatory letter
fol. 4 nn	In musicam choralem
fol. 5 nn = p. 1	Argumentum operis
	Punctum 1
	Brevem cantus choralis historiam continens
p. 7	Punctum II
	De definitione Musicae Choralis & Inventore literorum ejusdem
p. 8	Punctum III
	De scala solmisandi & sex vocibus illius
p. 11	Punctum IV
	De his, quae in cantu chorali sunt communia
p. 13	Punctum V
	De clavibus Cantu Choralis
p. 14	Punctum VI
	De Solmisatione
p. 16	Punctum VII
	De intervallis in Cantu Chorali
p. 18	Punctum VIII
	De divisione Cantus
p. 21	Punctum IX
	De Ascensu & descensu in Cantu Chorali
p. 37	Punctum X
	De tonu in Cantu Chorali
p. 65	Punctum XI
	In quo adduntur superiori doctrinae [. . .]
pp. 68–69	stuck together
p. 85	Ritus celebrandi missam
p. 88	Officium defunctorum — pages no longer numbered
[p. 100]	Ad Matutinum
[p. 155]	Conductus Funebralis
[pp. 158–60]	Conductus [text only]
p. 161	Blank
	End of book

Kraków, Carmelite Monastery, Book J
Cantionale Defunctorum, 1768

19.5 cm x 15 cm

fol. nn	Notes with date of 1853
Title Page	Cantionale Officium Defunctorum [. . .] 1768
	[pages numbered by a later hand]
p. 1	Additamentum ad Rudimenta Cantus Choralis
	Officium Defunctorum ad Vesperas
p. 15	Ad Matutinum
p. 58	Ad Laudes
p. 78	[pages not numbered from here on]
	De processione generalii pro fidelibus defunctis
p. 79	Missa pro defunctis
pp. 85–94	Processya [prayers in Polish]
pp. 95–96	Blank
	End of book

Kraków, Carmelite Monastery
Inventory of Portable Books

Book A	Carmelite Processional of 1666	7 copies
Book B	Carmelite Processional of 1711	3 copies
Book C	Carmelite Processional of 1759	1 copy
Book C1	Carmelite Processional of 1759 with some additional material	1 copy
Book D	Carmelite Directorium Chori of 1768	1 copy
Book E	Carmelite Directorium Chori of Fr Archangelus Paulius, O. Carm.	1 copy
Book E1	Carmelite Directorium Chori of Fr Archangelus Paulius, O. Carm. with some additional material	1 copy
Book F	Carmelite Directorium Chori of 1755 promulgated by Fr Joseph Albertus Ximenez, General	1 copy
Book G	Carmelite Officium Defunctorum and Processional	1 copy
Book H	Rudimenta Musicae Choralis for the Diocese of Kraków, 1820	1 copy
Book J	Carmelite Cantionali Officium Defunctorum, 1768	1 copy

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Siglum	Description	Handlist
CarK1	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 1	Rkp. perg. 12
CarK2	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 2	Rkp. perg. 14
CarK3	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 3	Rkp. perg. 15
CarK4	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 4	Rkp. perg. 20
CarK5	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 5	Rkp. perg. 13
CarK6	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 6	Rkp. perg. 1
CarK7	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 7	Rkp. perg. 5
CarK8	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 8	Rkp. perg. 23
CarK9	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 9	Rkp.perg–pap 21
CarK10	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 10	Rkp. pap. 18
CarK11	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 11	Rkp. perg. 6
CarK12	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 12	Rkp. perg. 10
CarK13	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 13	Rkp. perg. 3
CarK14	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 14	Rkp. perg. 9
CarK15	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 15	Rkp. perg. 4
CarK16	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 16	Rkp. perg. 2
CarK17	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 17	Rkp. perg. 25
CarK18	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 18	Rkp. perg. 7
CarK21	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 21	Rkp. pap. 22
CarK25	Kraków, Carmelite Convent, MS 25	Rkp. pap. 24
Wro	Wrocław, Ossiliński Library, MS 12025/IV	
CarMC	Mainz, Dom– und Diőzesanmuseum, Codex C	
CarME	Mainz, Dom– und Diőzesanmuseum, Codex E	
CarRMD	Rome, San Martino ai Monti, codex D	

CarRME Rome, San Martino ai Monti, codex E
CarRMF Rome, San Martino ai Monti, codex F
CarRTH Rome, Santa Maria in Traspontina, codex H
Kra1 Kraków, Jagellonian University Library, MS 1255
Kra2 Kraków, Jagellonian University Library, MS 1267

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Reference Chart (for detailed explanation see chapter 2, pp. 60-61)

The Services of the Divine Office					
Modern Breviary	*Medieval Offices*		*Approximate Time of Day*	*Abbreviation*	
Evening Prayer I (on eve of feast)	First Vespers		Early evening	1Vesp	
Office of Readings	Matins	Nocturn 1	Middle of the night	Matins	Noct1
		Nocturn 2			Noct2
		Nocturn 3			Noct3
Morning Prayer	Lauds		Early morning	Lauds	
Prayer during the Day	Prime		Morning; Mid-morning; Noon; Mid-afternoon (possibly combined)	Prime	
	Terce			Terce	
	Sext			Sext	
	None			None	
Evening Prayer II	Vespers or Evensong		Early evening	2Vesp	
Night Prayer	Compline		Late evening, before sleep	Comp	

Prayers within the Services	*Abbreviation*	*Notes*
Antiphon	Ant	Followed by a number denoting where it falls in the ordering of antiphons
Psalm	Ps.	Psalm (normally followed by its opening words in Latin, or *incipit*)
Versicle	V	Versicle (normally followed by its *incipit*)
[prolix or great] Responsory	R	Followed by a number denoting where it falls in the ordering of responsories

Responsory verse	v.	Responsory verse
Hymn	H	
Invitatory antiphon for Matins	Inv	Antiphon for Ps. 94 at start of Matins
Magnificat antiphon for Vespers	Mag	Chant sung in a particular office
Benedictus antiphon for Lauds	Ben	Chant sung in a particular office
Nunc Dimittis antiphon for Compline	NcD	Chant sung in a particular office

Other abbreviations or notes in the tables	
*	In the rubric; meaning that instead of giving full text and music to the chant, the manuscript only mentions it in a rubric, normally done in blank and red ink, with its text incipit. In other words it is only a few words in passing that indicate that the chant, versicle, or hymn, or prayer should occur here. One cannot designate a mode for such a chant, since it does not have music
, *, etc.	Specific to the particular table
T	Denotes 'transposed' in the Mode column
Fer 2, Fer 3, etc. through to Sab	Monday (2nd day of the week), Tuesday (3rd day), and so forth till Saturday (Sabbato)
Octave	the days of the week following the feast, or the eighth day after the feast (with the feast day itself counting as the first day)
Euouae	the vowels for the text 'seculorum amen' that designate the end of the psalm verse; this is used when no specific psalm text is mentioned in the manuscript